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The Wall-Paintings at Longthorpe Tower near Peterborough, Northants

By E. CLIVE ROUSE, Esq., M.B.E., F.S.A. and MISS AUDREY BAKER, Ph.D.

I

By E. CLIVE ROUSE

DISCOVERY

THE paintings which were fully uncovered during 1946 in the Great Chamber of the house known as Longthorpe Tower near Peterborough, are the most important domestic mural paintings of the medieval period in England. Here is preserved a unique example of the appearance of the private apartment of a man of means and taste in the early fourteenth century, and some indication also of the learning and moral ideas of his period. By means of painstaking research scholars have recovered much information about the paintings in Westminster and the other royal palaces. (See in particular T. Borenius, 'The Cycle of Images in the Palaces and Castles of Henry III', in *Journ. of the Warburg and Courtauld Insts.* vi (1943), 40-50.) There are also a few mentions of paintings of a secular character in other buildings, but almost nothing now survives. The uncovering of the magnificent series of paintings at Longthorpe Tower, which is not a particularly large or important dwelling, suggests that mural painting of a hitherto unimagined richness and elaboration must have been usual in the castles and great houses of the English nobility during the medieval period.

During the later years of the second world war the tower portion of the house, where the paintings were found, was occupied by the Home Guard. As is the invariable custom of the army, various nails were driven into the walls for a variety of purposes and this resulted in the yellow distemper and underlying whitewash with which the walls were covered becoming chipped and beginning to flake, and traces of colour being revealed. This was noticed by Mr. Hugh Horrell, the tenant of the house. When the Home Guard finally vacated the tower, Mr. Horrell set about redecorating the room for his own use. In the course of his rough scraping down of the walls, he detached large flakes of distemper and limewash and saw that the underlying colour was extensive. He therefore proceeded with greater caution, and laboriously worked away until a number of figures had been revealed. He wisely stopped when any fragile or difficult part was reached. The discovery was reported to the owner, Captain T. W. (now Earl) Fitzwilliam, and his agent Major Elliot, and they in turn got in touch with our late Fellow Mr. W. T. Mellows, who wrote to this Society, and I was asked to make an inspection. The importance of the find was at once apparent. Captain Fitzwilliam immediately authorized the work of full uncovering, repair, and preservation, which occupied me for many months in 1946, and in recording in 1947 and 1948.

Grateful acknowledgements must be accorded to a number of people. First, Mr. Horrell must be congratulated on his observation, care, and restraint, without which the paintings could not have been revealed and preserved; secondly, Earl Fitzwilliam must be thanked, who not only authorized the necessary work, but eventually also most generously presented the whole tower to the Ancient Monuments Department of the Ministry of Works. Most valuable help in the study and identification of the subjects of the paintings was given by various scholars. The late Professor Tristram saw the paintings and gave his opinion on a number of points. Mr. Mellows and Mr. E. A. Greening Lamborn provided most of the manorial history and information about the heraldry. The late Professor Saxl and Professor Wormald gave freely of their great knowledge on many points of the iconography, and invaluable help was received from Professor Jansen of the University of Washington; Sir Ellis Minns and Professor Wormald gave help with the inscriptions. Helpful advice and comments on the costume and the musical instruments was given by Sir James Mann and Mr. F. G. Rendall. The generosity of the late Mr. J. S. Baker made possible the taking of a fine photographic record, and the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries made a small grant which covered the cost of a series of photographic details taken by Helmuth Gernsheim. Mr. R. C. Sansome, then Curator of Peterborough Museum, and the Chief Constable of Peterborough gave great assistance in the matter of infra-red and ultra-violet ray photography and records. I invited Dr. Audrey Baker to collaborate with me and deal with the iconographic aspect of the paintings and the results of her researches form the second part of this paper, although throughout the whole investigation her knowledge and help are gratefully acknowledged. Mr. Denys Spittle has very kindly redrawn the detail plan of the Great Chamber.

Grateful acknowledgements are made to the following for permission to reproduce details from various manuscripts; to the Trustees of the British Museum for pls. ix, xi *b*, xiii *a* and *b*, and xxiv *b*; to the curators of the Bodleian Library, Oxford for pls. xiii *c* and xxi *b*; to the Roxburghe Club for pls. xi *a* and xix *b* (from MS. 53 in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), xix *a* (from the Walter of Milemete MS. in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford), xxiv *c* (from the MS. of the Life of St. Anthony in the Public Library of Valetta); to the Director of the Warburg Institute for pl. xxiv *a* (from a manuscript in the Bibl. Casanatense, Rome); also to W. F. Mansell for pls. xxv *a* and *b*.

THE HOUSE

Some account of the house, and an up-to-date hatched plan based on a survey kindly made for me by our late Fellow, Mr. H. F. Traylen, of Stamford, will be found in the Ministry of Works Guide.

The house is mentioned in Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England*,¹ and a short description is given by J. A. Gotch in his work entitled *The Old Halls and Manor Houses of Northamptonshire*,² and there is also a mention of it in the *Victoria County History*.³ Illustrations are given in all three works, and plans in the two latter, but

¹ Vol. i, p. 62.

² p. 10.

³ *Northants*, ii, 459, 460, and 486.

these are inaccurate and inadequate as the small chamber in the thickness of the wall of the Great Chamber in the tower, and other features, were not known at the time when these plans were drawn. Reference may be made to the accompanying block plan, fig. 1, as well as to the dated plan in the Ministry guide.

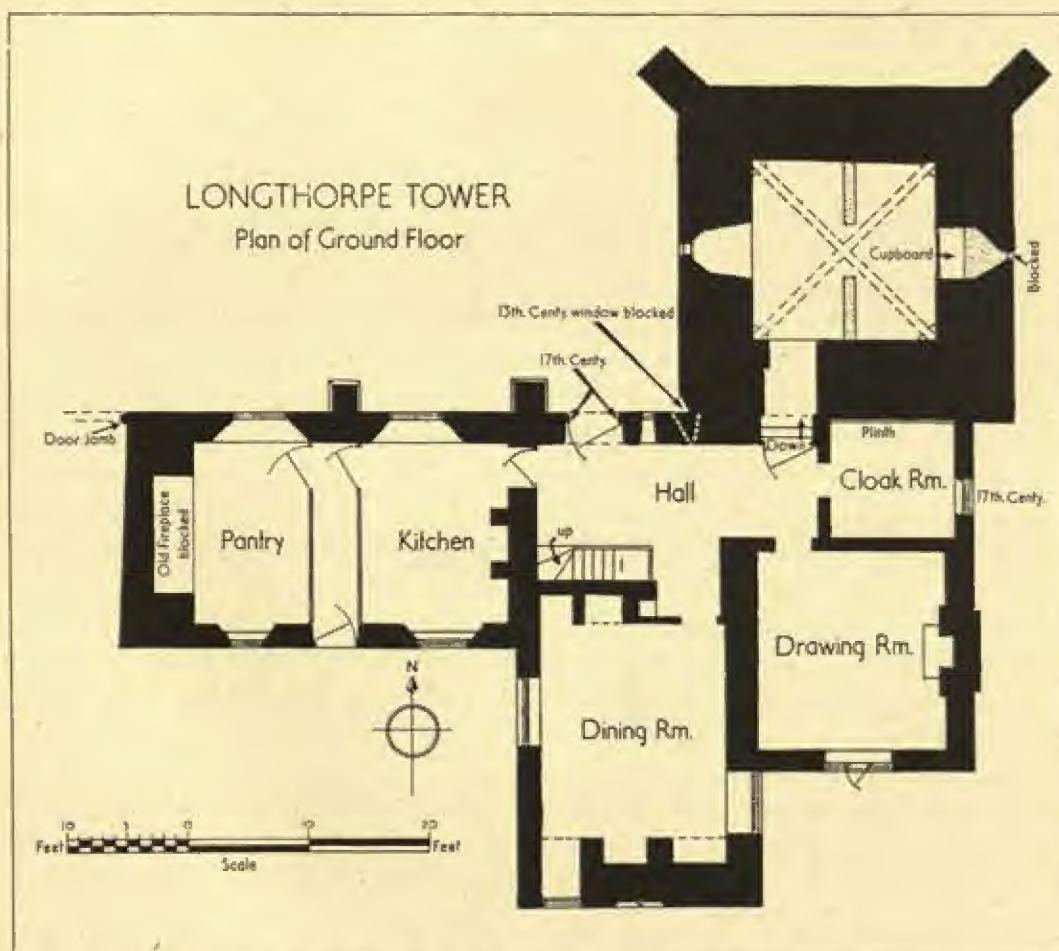


FIG. 1. Block plan of the Longthorpe Tower

These authorities give the whole house as late thirteenth century with seventeenth-century and modern additions. It seems, however, that the earliest part is the central north-south wing which retains an original two-light window in the north gable which belongs to a type which can be dated about 1250-60. It seems probable that this was the hall wing which was built by William de Thorpe at about the same time as the rebuilding of the Chapel of St. Botolph, now the parish church, by him in 1263-4. At any rate it is clear that this wing evidently contained an apartment of some importance, for, on the remnants of the plaster of the gable above the window there is a fragment of wall-painting. There is what appears to be the symbol of St. John, the Evangelist, in a roundel against a single line masonry background with pierced sexfoils. The painting is earlier in character than the decoration of the Great

Chamber, and would accord well with a date about 1260. A rough sketch was made of this painting under very difficult conditions in an unlit roof-space.

The only other ancient features in this wing are a blocked fifteenth-century window low down in the south gable, a seventeenth-century window, also blocked, and some

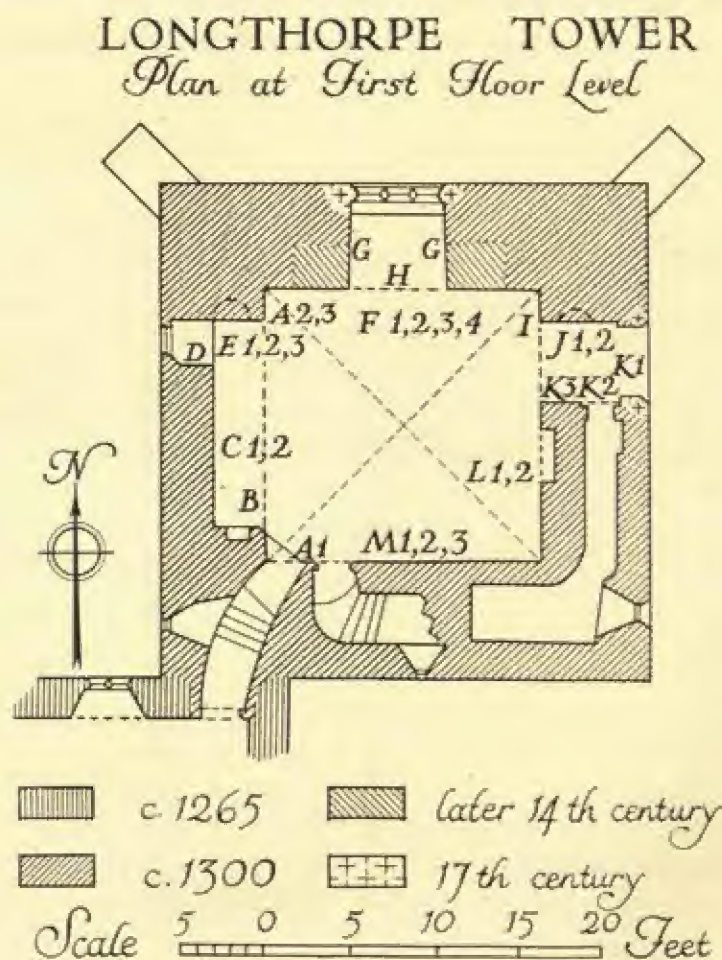


FIG. 2. Detail plan of the Great Chamber

seventeenth-century beams in the dining-room; all the rest is modern. The smaller wing, which also runs north-south, is completely modern, and the third wing, which runs east and west and joins the hall wing at right angles, retains no visible details earlier than the seventeenth century, although the buttresses suggest a medieval origin. This, however, can hardly be so; as part of the chamfered head of one of the altered, large seventeenth-century windows has lately been identified as re-used in one of the buttresses. Most authorities have considered the tower, which joins the hall wing at its eastern angle, as part of the original thirteenth-century structure; but this seems unlikely as the junction is extremely awkward. The shouldered lintel, or Caernarvon arch-type windows on the top story are consistent with a date about 1300 or soon after. Windows of this type occur at Woodcroft Castle nearby. The Great Tower, some 40 ft. high and with walls 6 ft. thick, composed almost entirely of small

stone rubble with Barnack stone dressings, seems curiously out of place on the edge of the Fen, for it resembles the Peel towers which are frequently found along the Scottish borders. But whereas these usually have five floors, Longthorpe has but three¹ (pl. 1, *a* and *b*). The vaulted ground floor, with its very small windows, was probably never more than a store. There is no access within the tower between the ground and first floors, the main room, which is on the first floor, being entered from the house, possibly from the level of a gallery in the hall. This room, which is the one in which the paintings were found, is about 16 ft. square plus window embrasures and various recesses. It is also vaulted (fig. 2). The room was clearly the Great Chamber of the lord and lady of the house. It has been altered by the enlarging of two of the windows and a slight narrowing of the fireplace, the only one which the building possessed. The Ministry of Works has now removed this later blocking as well as the hob grate. A narrow passage and small chamber turning at right-angles under the stairs is contrived in the thickness of the east and south walls. Its purpose is a matter for conjecture: but it seems likely to have been a garderobe. From this room a stair in the thickness of the south wall over the small chamber mentioned above leads to an upper room of the same size as the Great Chamber. The windows here are smaller and have embrasure window-seats. From the occurrence of slots or recesses for wooden shutter bars, the windows would appear never to have been glazed. A garderobe is contrived in a small chamber in the south wall, where, on the outside, can be seen two heavy stone corbels which evidently supported a stone seat (preserved in the room), the whole being protected probably by a projecting wooden erection or pentise. There were remnants of plaster on the walls, but no sign of painting. Steps in the thickness of the wall lead, again, from this room to a small turret in the south-west corner, giving access to the leads or battlement walk in a gully round the pyramidal roof of Colley-Weston stone slates. The story that the tower is the only survivor of four can be discounted, and probably results from confusion with Woodcroft Castle near by; though a door-jamb in the north-west corner of the house does suggest that it may at one time have been more extensive.

THE OWNERS

A pedigree will probably give the best summary of what little is known about the owners or tenants of this remarkable house. The first tangible personality is William of Thorpe, son of William, son of Thurstan, who, in 1263-4, received the permission of Robert, abbot of Peterborough, to rebuild the ancient parochial chapel of St. Botolph at Thorpe on a more convenient site since it stood on the outskirts of Peterborough itself and was so far removed from the village 'that the cure of souls is neglected and worship prevented to a dangerous extent'.² I suggest that this William de Thorpe was the builder of the original house, of which the hall wing with its two-light window remains. The church or chapel has some similar detail and is only the width of an orchard away from the house. I suggest further that it was Robert, the son of this William, who added the great tower, partly no doubt for security, but also to provide

¹ Gotch, *op. cit.* p. 10.

² B.M. Cotton MS. Cleop. C. 1, f. 62.

It is possible for all this to have happened in the life-time of the first Robert, but it seems more likely that the paintings were commissioned by Robert's son, Robert, who succeeded his father in the post of steward of the Liberty in 1330 and was still holding Thorpe in 1346.

There is much confusion and uncertainty about the history of the Thorpe family at this point since there were influential branches of the family in Norfolk, and some holding estates in Lincolnshire. The connexion of Robert Thorpe, the clerk, who became chancellor to Edward III and died in 1372, and of William Thorpe, who became Lord Chief Justice and lost his estates when he was impeached for bribery and died in 1375, with the Thorpes of Longthorpe is problematical, although the late Mr. W. T. Mellows has shown reason to associate them with this area rather than with Norfolk or Lincoln. Both were buried in the abbey church at Peterborough, but their elaborate monuments were destroyed at the time of the Puritan spoliation.¹ From the stylistic character of the paintings it would appear that both these eminent men were too late in date to have had any influence in commissioning them.²

The Thorpe estates passed subsequently to the Wytilburys of Milton and Marholm, for John Wytilbury, in a deed of 1391, assumed the arms and insignia of William Thorpe 'In his memory and honour'. At the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century these holdings were acquired by the Fitzwilliams of Milton. They still belong to their descendant, Earl Fitzwilliam, by whom the tower was presented to the nation.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PAINTINGS

The paintings in the Great Chamber cover the walls from the floor to the vault, the vault itself, the window splays, and all the recesses. The room is overwhelmingly impressive and it is impossible not to be amazed at the richness of the decoration and the comparatively complete state in which it has survived. It is very difficult to give a clear description of the subjects, as the ground plan of the room, with its numerous recesses, is very complicated. A good deal of assistance can be obtained by constant reference to the plan, fig. 2 and the diagram of the walls and the vault, figs. 3 and 4. In this description each wall, beginning with the west, will be described in turn, and a separate description will be given of the vault.

West Wall (Fig. 3, pl. 11)

A wide recess has been cut out of this wall leaving only narrow strips of the face at the sides, and an arched space above. There is a door which leads into the house in the south strip, and above this is painted a bird pecking at grapes on a scrolling vine (A. 1) (pl. III, a). Above this, in the space over the arch, are five figures which survive from a series representing the Twelve Labours of the Months. Each figure has had the name inscribed beneath it. The first, January (Eanuer), holds a bowl of soup and warms himself at a fire. He has a black hat or possibly a fur cap slung from his

¹ The monuments are figured in the John Bridges collection, f. 210.

² Mr. Mellows was tempted to see in the unfinished

state of the paintings of the lower zone of the west wall an interruption of the work of decoration on the impeachment of the Chief Justice, below p. 9.

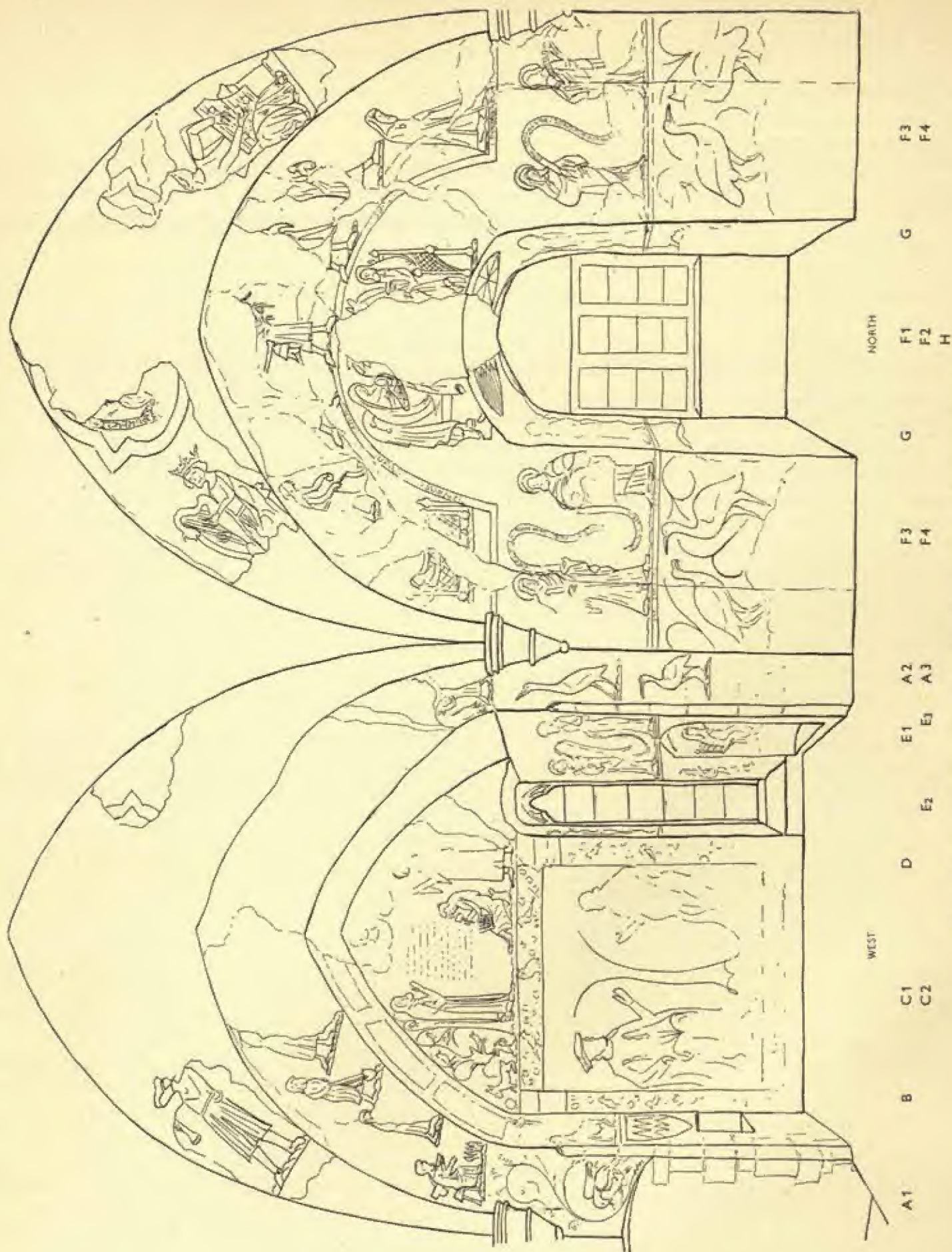


FIG. 3. Diagram of the west and north walls and vault of the Great Chamber

shoulders (pl. III, *a*). Above is February (Fever), who is very mutilated but appears to have been working; March is digging; he has the skirt of his tunic hitched up to give freedom of movement. April is a young man possibly holding flowers (pl. IV); all the other figures except December are completely destroyed. This figure is mutilated but is clearly seen in the act of killing a pig (A. 2, pl. II).

Beneath December on the strip of wall to the north of the recess there are two birds, a bittern above and a curlew below (A. 3, pl. III, *b*). The arch of the recess is chamfered and the jambs and soffit are painted; there is a small aumbry in the south wall, above which is a shield charged with a bold fess indented or dancetty with traces of small charges between (B). Above this, standing on a straight ground line, is an animal which looks rather like a sheep. On the soffit are three banners of arms, the two lower of which are mounted on a pole or staff which is grasped by a hand; the charges are very indistinct (pl. II). There were probably three more similar banners on the north side, but these are completely destroyed. The paintings on the back wall of the main recess are divided into two zones. At the south end of the upper compartment is a standing figure, probably a hermit, who is holding up his hands in adoration before a vision of Christ, whose head and shoulders appear wreathed in clouds (pl. IV). Below this vision is a long inscription in Latin which is practically indecipherable (see Appendix III). On the other side of this a young man is seen seated on a tasselled cushion making a basket. He holds a mallet. Behind him is a rather substantial looking figure with something hanging from his hand which looks like a narrow scroll. This figure is very indistinct (C. 1). The lower zone is surrounded by an elaborate border painted dark red and ornamented with birds and probably scrollwork with vine-leaves on roundels. In the upper border an owl and a magpie can be identified (pl. IV). Within the border are two large seated figures with their hands raised as if engaged in a discussion; they are accompanied by scrolls; both wear rather elaborate contemporary dress and the one to the south has a hat of folded material. The painting seems to have been left unfinished. (C. 2 and pl. II.)

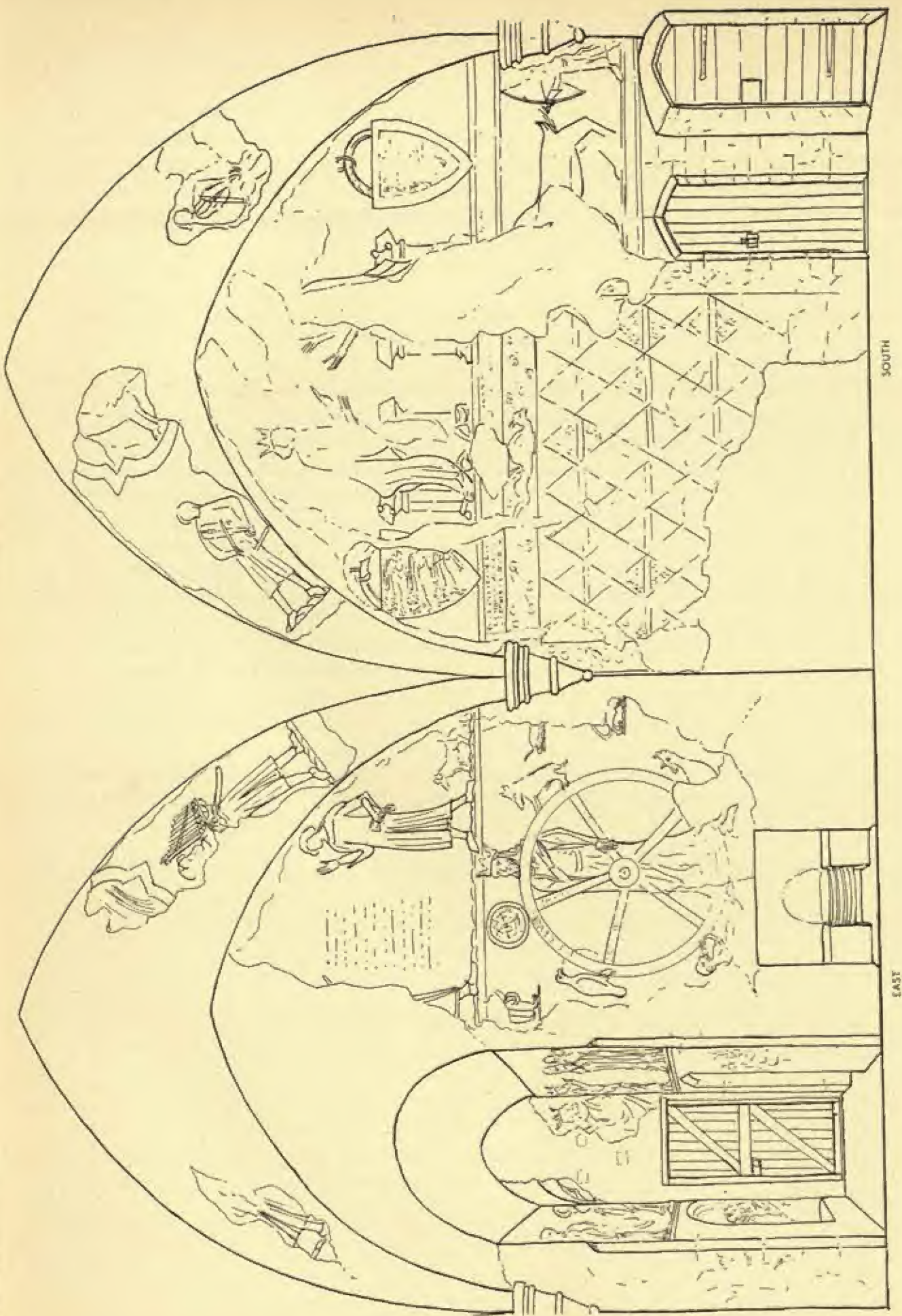
There is a narrow trefoil-headed lancet window at the north end of this main recess. On the narrow south splay is a standing figure of St. Paul. He carries his emblem, a sword, in his right hand by his side, his other hand being raised as if to hold the end of a scroll, now perished. He wears a long cloak with curious cape, turned over at the top. Both cloak and under-tunic show a good deal of the black underpainting, and may therefore have been grey or cream (D; pl. V, *a*).

The north splay is continued across the north jamb of the arch of the main recess; the paintings on it are divided into two zones. Above are figures of St. Peter and St. Andrew who are the first figures of a Creed subject which is continued on the north wall. They are accompanied by scrolls which bear the words which each apostle is thought to have contributed to the Apostles' Creed on the Day of Pentecost. The figures face each other. St. Peter is tonsured; he holds two long keys in his right hand and rests them against his shoulder, his other hand is covered by his cloak. St. Andrew is stepping forward; the scroll is supported by his right hand and he holds a very slender saltire cross in his left. His head is destroyed (E. 1, pl. V, *c*). Only isolated letters can be read on the scrolls (Appendix II). In the lower zone there are two

scenes. To the west (E. 2) there is a seated woman with a bird on the ground in front of her; to the east (E. 3; pl. VI, *a*), on the wall of a little in-curving alcove, which, with a corresponding one on the east side, might have served as a kind of window-seat when the floor-level was somewhat lower than at present, there is a tonsured figure seated on a chair and addressing a child. The tonsured figure has a scroll on which can be read NO(TR)E DAME N(O)US ASOUDRA DE LA PE——.

North Wall (Fig. 3, pl. VII)

This wall originally had a recess of the same size and shape as that of the west wall, but this was partially filled up. The outline of the original recess is shown in the wall diagram fig. 3. A seventeenth-century window of three lights has been inserted at the back of the narrow recess and this has led to the mutilation of the paintings. On the outer face of the arch, beginning from the top, is first the Seven Ages of Man arranged above a narrow arch-shaped ground line on which the names of the figures have been inscribed (F. 1). The first figure, labelled INFANS, which is placed at the bottom on the west side, is a baby asleep in a cot or swinging cradle attached to posts at each end (pl. XVI, *b*). Next comes PUER, a boy holding a whip and top or ball; ADOLESCENS is badly mutilated. The figure over the apex of the arch, presumably VIR, is that of a man wearing a tunic. The upper part is completely destroyed but it can be seen that he carried a hawk on his left wrist with the jesses dangling, a lure hanging on the same side, and on the other side, a perch or dagger (the object has a handle) presumably attached to a belt worn under the tunic and sticking out horizontally through a slit in the upper garment. The tasselled hood hangs from this (pl. VIII, *b*). Beginning to descend on the east side is, first another heavily damaged figure, probably MEDIAEVUS, perhaps also carrying a hawk, and certainly wearing a sword; next presumably came SENECTUS, also sadly imperfect, carrying a money-bag, and finally, DECREPITUS, an old hooded figure walking with two crutches (pl. XV, *a*). Below this painted arch and above the arch of the window recess is a representation of the Nativity (F. 2; pl. VIII, *b*). The Virgin is seen on the left, reclining on a couch and suckling the swaddled Child, St. Joseph is on the right, seated in an arm-chair, and the heads of the ox and ass appear from behind the Virgin's couch. In the middle zone of paintings, on both east and west sides of the window recess (F. 3) is a pair of figures from the Creed subject. The figure to the west is probably intended for St. James, he has white hair, and seems to be carrying a long pilgrim's staff. On his scroll is inscribed . E SPIRITU SANCTO; NA(T)U(S) ——. The next figure has no emblem. On his scroll is PILATO CRU . . . SEP. His cloak seems to have had a red lining (pls. III, *b* and XVI, *b*). On the east of the window the first figure is a veiled woman (pl. X). The words on her scroll are . . . LESIAM CATHOLICAM; SANCTORUM COMMUNIONEM. Her head-veil looks buff-coloured with traces of vermilion and seems to have been lined with white or cream. Her cloak is also buff with traces of vermilion and seems to have been lined with grey. Her halo is more elaborate than any of the others; it has a multi-foil border. The fourth figure may have been carrying stones or bread, in which case he would be intended for St. Stephen or St. Philip. Only the words REMISSIONEM PE can be read on his scroll.



E. CLIVERHOUSE 1949.

M1
M2

L1
L2

K1
K2
K3

J1
J2

I

FIG. 4. Diagram of the east and south walls and vault of the Great Chamber

Below these apostle figures, in the bottom zone of paintings (F. 4) there are four large birds (pl. III, *b*). Three are of the goose type; the one to the east may be an owl; they are painted against a background of fine scrolls.

The east and west walls of the window embrasure have both had a pair of apostles from the Creed subject in the upper zone, and birds or animals in the scroll-work below, but the alteration to the window has destroyed one figure of each pair. The words DESCENDIT AD can be read on the scroll of one of the figures on the west, and SPIRITUM SANCTUM on the east (G. G.). The soffit of the arch bears the remains of four heraldic shields, one of which is the gyronny coat of Bassingbourne, and another a paly shield with an indented chief (H).

East Wall (Fig. 4, pl. XIV)

Beginning from the north, the first part of the decoration, which is on the face of the wall to the north of the recess, is a design which is apparently stencilled on the wall (I). The last pair of apostles from the Creed subject is placed on the upper zone of the north wall (J. 1) of the recess, and below in a little curved alcove, which may have served as a seat, there is a bearded man addressing three youths. The end of a scroll is held in the teacher's hand, and on the scroll the words OREILLE and CUST can be deciphered (J. 2; pl. VI, *b*). He points to the scroll with his other hand, indicating that he is the speaker. The upper zone of the east wall of the recess, and the upper zone of the south wall, are decorated with a representation of the meeting of the Three Dead Kings and the Three Living Kings. The foremost Living King is speaking to the first of the skeletons, the second Living King, who is on the east wall was apparently turning to address the third, but this figure is completely destroyed. The first two skeletons wear shrouds, but the third is naked and can be seen to be being eaten by worms (K. 1 and K. 2, pl. XII). A narrow band formerly bearing an inscription runs under this subject, and under that of the pair of apostles, but in both cases the inscriptions are indecipherable. In the lower zone of the south wall of this window recess there is a little doorway which leads to a small chamber in the thickness of the wall. This chamber turns westwards under the stairs which lead to the upper story; its use is conjectural; it may have been a garderobe. Next to this doorway are the remains of a painting of a peacock (K. 3).

On the face of the main east wall there are two zones of painting above the fireplace. The central part of the large composition in the upper zone (L. 1; pl. XIV) is occupied by a long inscription in Latin, similar to that on the west wall. It is completely indecipherable. To the south of this there is a very well-preserved figure of a young man carrying his gloves and accompanied by his dog (pl. XV, *b*). He raises his hand as if in greeting or attention to the figure on the other side of the inscription. Only the foot and part of the hand of this figure have been preserved. From the pointing finger it would appear that this man was the speaker. He was wearing a sword in a scabbard. In the lower zone there is a large figure of a king who stands behind a five-spoked wheel which he is rotating by putting his left hand on one of the spokes. By his left shoulder is a boar with pricked ears, below this a cock, and following round to the other side there is a monkey tasting something; next above is a vulture, and, at the top,

over the king's right shoulder, a spider in its web. There are other animals outside the wheel. To the king's left there is a long, low animal rather like a dachshund above, and another, perhaps a different kind of dog or hound, below; there may have been others lower still. On the other side a squirrel sitting up and eating is seen at the top, but no other creatures are visible (L 2; pls. xvi, *a* and xvii). There are no traces of painting below this composition or above the arch of the recess, where the plaster has mostly perished and been renewed.

South Wall (Fig. 4; pls. xiv and xviii)

The paintings are in two zones; above are two enthroned figures in the attitude which is used to indicate conversation. The figure to the east is crowned (pl. xv, *c*), no detail of the other, except the raised hands, can be seen. The figures are flanked by two large shields, to the east is that of England before 1340 (pl. xv, *d*), to the west is that of Woodstock or Kent (M. 1). Below, there is a horizontal band bearing a long inscription in French. Only two complete words can be deciphered, and it is impossible to make out the meaning. (See Appendix II.)

Most of the lower zone is occupied by a heraldic diaper of the arms of Thorpe, surrounded on three sides with a border (M. 2). The decoration of the upper side of this border consists of a dragon with a long tail and scrolls; in the side borders are more scrolls and birds. At the west end are two doors, one leading to the house, and the other to a stairway in the thickness of the wall which gives access to the top floor of the tower. Between the top of these doors and the band bearing the French inscription is a painting which represents the hunting of the bonacon (M. 3; xx, *a*).

The Vault

The vault is in four compartments. In the centre of each compartment is one of the symbols of the Evangelists within a barbed quatrefoil (these are in a very poor state of preservation). Below, and on each side of the quatrefoil, there is a figure of a musician. Beginning from the south-west corner there is first a musician in a short tunic who is playing the bagpipes (pls. xviii and xxii, *a*); the second figure in this compartment has perished. In the second compartment, which is over the north wall, there is a representation of King David playing the harp (pl. viii, *a*), and of another throned figure playing a psaltery (pl. xxii, *b*). Within the quatrefoil a scroll with the word *iohannes* and one claw of the eagle of St. John can be seen. In the compartment over the east wall the figure to the north is unidentifiable, and the figure on the south plays a portative organ (pls. xviii and xxii, *c*). In the compartment over the south wall a fragment of the ox of St. Luke has survived. Both figures play stringed instruments (pls. v, *b* and xxii, *d*).

E. C. R.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PAINTINGS: STYLISTIC PARALLELS

The figures in the Longthorpe paintings are mostly tall and well proportioned with rather small heads but clumsy hands and feet. Many of them stand with their weight on one foot and the other free, giving a feeling of counterpoise and producing a slight

curve in the stance; others are seen to be striding forward with their feet in profile although their bodies are three-quarter face; a few are standing with their feet turned out; practically none appear to be in profile. In some figures the position of the hands is natural, the apostles, however, have a tendency to twist them back in awkward contorted gestures, while figures such as those of the enthroned king and his companion on the south wall (pl. xv, *c*), the young man carrying his gloves (pl. xv, *b*), and the two figures in the lower zone of the west wall, who are presumably engaged in conversation or discussion (pl. II), have their elbows bent and their hands stiffly raised. Except in the musicians, the fingers of the hands are closely together and in some cases it can be seen that they were drawn as if enclosed in a mitten with a slight nick in the outline to indicate the tops of the outer fingers. The flesh painting has largely perished and most of the faces and hands appear black (pl. xvi, *b*). It is thus difficult in most cases to distinguish the facial characteristics. But two main types of treatment can be identified. Several of the better-preserved of the apostle figures have the features outlined in red, while the lips are vermilion (as with the king in the wheel) (pl. xvi, *a*). Others, such as St. Paul, have a white outline for features and lips (pl. v, *a*).

The best preserved of the heads are those of the king behind the wheel and the King David with his harp (pl. viii, *a*); these two are somewhat different in type. The king with the wheel has a noticeably long narrow head with a very high forehead, his eyebrows are rather flat, his lower eyelids almost straight, and the upper ones rather sharply arched. His mouth is bowed with the corners definitely turned down. His face does not seem to have been elaborately modelled. This figure has long waving hair which falls to his shoulders and frames his face. His beard is rounded and also wavy. The head of King David is smaller, the brow is still high but the lower part of the face is shorter and the whole contour more pointed; the eyebrows are slightly more arched, as is probably the upper eyelid, but the mouth is less markedly curving. The face retains far more modelling and there is a very clearly defined system of furrows across the brows. His hair is worn shorter, and both this and the beard are bushy rather than wavy. It is probable that these two heads are the work of different painters;¹ the first one seems to belong to an earlier tradition than that of the King David.

There is a certain variation in the contours of the faces of the other figures, young men such as the young man with the gloves (pl. xv, *b*) have round faces, while *Decrepitus* (pl. xv, *a*) in the Seven Ages can be seen to have very sunken cheeks. A definite attempt at giving variety to the figures and a suggestion of character can be seen in the series of apostles where some figures have rather thin narrow faces and small beards, and others broader, more rugged faces with very bushy hair and beards (pls. III, *b*, v, *c*, VII and x). Most of the figures have rather short square-cut beards which jut out sharply from the face; in the unfinished paintings on the west wall it can be seen that the painter drew these as simple rectangles rather like boxes (pl. II).

A favourite way of dressing the hair can be seen to be the placing of a short lock or curl in the middle of the forehead. The apostles, like the king behind the wheel, have their hair falling on to their shoulders, but most of the lay figures have theirs cut in a long 'bob' below the ears.

¹ Below, pp. 28, 29.

The apostles wear formal garments consisting of a long tunic with a loose cloak worn over it whose ends are draped over the arms, curving folds often cross the upper part of the body and vertical folds are formed in the ends. There does not seem to be much indication of the deep triangular folds over the legs which are so characteristic of the Gothic system of drapery. The surface is so decayed, however, that it is not possible to speak with any certainty, and probably a much greater feeling of depth was given to the folds by modelling. The original colour-range seems to have varied considerably. Some of the garments were buff, some, by the presence of the black underpainting, were probably grey, pink, or cream; and a surprising feature is the occurrence of a good deal of vermilion, which, in such a position, can hardly have been an underpainting.

The drapery of the bed of the Virgin in the Nativity scene (pl. VIII, *b*) is better preserved than that of the garments, and here it can be seen that the folds were curving and soft. This graceful treatment can also be seen in the long garments of the seated figures, especially that of the musician playing the psaltery (pl. XXII, *b*), and the enthroned figure on the south wall (pl. xv, *c*). The arrangement of folds of the laymen figures, especially those in the Seven Ages composition and the paintings on the east and west walls, is very simple (pl. xv, *a* and *b*). The figures of young men wear unbelted super-tunics with a central opening down the skirt, whose edges are turned back to give the impression of a large 'inverted pleat', otherwise both here and in the longer tunics of the older men the folds are only indicated by a few single lines. These are, however, extremely graceful.

Resemblances between the Longthorpe figures and those in certain manuscripts, wall-paintings, stained glass, and sculpture can be seen: but in general these are not close enough to give a definite indication of the date and provenance of the paintings. It is fortunate therefore that more precise evidence can be found in the composition and iconography of one particular scene, the Nativity. In the wall-painting the Virgin is reclining on a couch and suckling the Child, while St. Joseph, holding his staff, sits in a curious throne-like chair at her feet (pl. VIII, *b*). The centre of the composition is unfortunately destroyed, but the heads of the ox and ass were placed facing each other behind the couch. Sir Eric Millar showed that an almost precisely similar composition is found throughout a considerable group of manuscripts of the early fourteenth century, of which the most important is the exquisite and profusely illustrated manuscript known as *Queen Mary's Psalter*.¹ This is thought to have been executed for a member of the Plantagenet family.² Another of the most important of this group of manuscripts is a psalter, two chronicles, and a bestiary which belonged to Hugh Stiuecle, prior of Peterborough at some time between 1299 and 1321.³ Another belonged to a lady called Alice de Reydon⁴ and still another to a monk of Canterbury,⁵ others have no indication of provenance.⁶

¹ B.M. Royal MS. 2 B. VII, fo. 85; pl. ix.

² Sir G. Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, 1912, pp. 6-7.

³ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 53.

⁴ Sarum Horae, Cambridge, University Library, MS.

Dd. 4. 17.

⁵ Dyson Perrins Library, Warner, *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of G. W. Dyson Perrins*; Millar, *English*

Illumination, ii, 76.

⁶ Other manuscripts closely related in style are Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Douce 79; *Somme le Roy*, Cambridge, St. John's College, MS. 256; *Historical Compilation*, B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius D. 11; *Apocalypse*, B.M. Royal MS. 19 B. XV.

It is clear that these manuscripts, unlike the great series of East Anglian psalters, which was also executed at about the same period, cannot be localized, but it is quite clear from other compositions besides the Nativity that they are the product of a definite group of painters. As Sir Eric Millar said, 'This is a case in which we have to reckon with an outside atelier, which carried out commissions in different parts of the country perhaps sending artists to stay in monasteries and elsewhere as they were needed, or work may have been executed to order in some central place, such as London.'¹ There is some variation even in the compositions which seem to have been copied from a common prototype, and Sir Eric conjectured that occasionally, in order to gain variety, the artist reflected the prototype in a mirror so that the figures appear in reverse.² The Nativity at Longthorpe has a particularly close relation to one of the four miniatures attached to an unidentified text in MS. Douce 79 in the Bodleian Library, where the attitudes of the figures, the architectural structure of the base of the couch, and the staff held by St. Joseph are extremely similar.³ The manuscript appears to be close in style to Queen Mary's Psalter. It is of great interest that this Nativity composition, which can be used almost as a touchstone in deciding which manuscripts are related to the involved main group, occurs at Longthorpe, especially as it is to figures in the manuscripts of this group that those at Longthorpe show most stylistic resemblance. For instance, both Queen Mary's Psalter⁴ and the Peterborough Psalter at Cambridge⁵ include standing figures of apostles and prophets holding scrolls, the prophet showing words from his books which foreshadow the article of the Creed enunciated by the apostle. The subject is not the same as at Longthorpe where only the apostles are represented, but the treatment is very similar. In both manuscripts, as in the wall-paintings, the figures are arranged in pairs and carry curving scrolls; some only of the apostles have emblems. In the Peterborough Psalter the figures stand on grassy mounds (pl. xi, *a*) as in the wall-paintings, and in Queen Mary's Psalter the emblems held by St. Peter and St. Andrew (pl. xi, *b*) are similar to those of the corresponding figures at Longthorpe (pl. v, *c*). In both the manuscripts, as well as in the paintings, the way in which the scrolls are held often imparts a curiously awkward position to the hands. The St. John in Queen Mary's Psalter,⁶ and the apostle immediately to the west of the north window, for instance, both have their hands bent round and inwards (pl. xvi, *b*), while the figures of Zacharias⁷ and St. Peter⁸ in the Peterborough Psalter, and also the apostle in the east corner of the north wall at Longthorpe (pl. x), have their hands twisted back with the palms facing forward. In the Peterborough Psalter, as in the wall-paintings, there is an attempt to give variety to the apostle figures, and the figure of St. Andrew⁹ with his heavier proportions and bushy beard is similar in type to the apostle to the west of the north window (pl. xvi, *b*). The features of the apostles in the wall-paintings are not always clear, but it is unlikely they had the almost vertical eyebrows and gable-shaped upper eyelids which give the figures in the Peterborough Psalter their peculiar liveliness. It would appear that the

¹ Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, ii, 11.

² *Ibid.* p. 13.

³ *Ibid.* pl. 37 *b*.

⁴ B.M. Royal MS. 2 B. VII, fos. 69^v, 70, 304, and 305.

⁵ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 53.

⁶ B.M. Royal MS. 2 B. VII, fo. 69^v.

⁷ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 53, fo. 17.

⁸ *Ibid.* fo. 7.

⁹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 53, fo. 8^v.

treatment of the drapery was less elaborate than in either manuscript. One similarity which it seems possible to suggest is the way in which the apostle west of the north window wears his cloak with the end so wrapped over his shoulder as to appear almost like a broad collar or the front of a hood, and the way it is worn by the St. Bartholomew in the Peterborough Psalter,¹ where the folds round the neck have a similar appearance and the cloak is again wrapped tightly across the chest, making dipping semi-circular folds. This is a rather unusual arrangement. Another great point of resemblance in the pose, drapery, and drawing, can be seen between the figure of Ecclesia in the Creed series at Longthorpe and the Virgin in the Crucifixion in the Peterborough Psalter (CCCC MS. 53, fo. 15 b; pls. x and xix, b). Perhaps the greatest similarity which can be pointed out between the figures at Longthorpe and those in the Peterborough Psalter, is in the curious mannerisms adopted in the drawing of the feet. This can be seen if St. Peter and St. Andrew at Longthorpe (pl. v, c) are compared with St. Mathias and the accompanying prophet in the manuscript (pl. xi, a).² St. Peter and the prophet both stand in the usual Gothic pose with their weight on one foot and the heel of the other slightly raised but, in both cases, the position of the second foot is exaggerated so that it seems almost to trail behind, while it is tilted up so that all the toes can be seen. This curious way of drawing the foot is found in several other figures in this manuscript and in the little figure of St. Peter from a series of apostle figures in Queen Mary's Psalter³ (pl. xi, b) and also several of the prophet and apostle figures in the same manuscript.⁴ It can be traced back at any rate to the late thirteenth century as it is found again in the figure of St. John on the Crucifixion page of the psalter of Robert de Lisle.⁵ The second mannerism in the treatment of the feet is still more remarkable. This can be studied in the figure of St. Andrew (pl. v, c) and the apostle in the west corner of the north wall at Longthorpe (pl. xvi, b) and in the Mathias figure in the Peterborough Psalter.⁶ The bodies of all these figures are seen in three-quarter face pose but the legs and feet are in profile, the leg nearer the spectator being brought diagonally and without the slightest bending across in front of the other, while the heel of the second foot is clearly seen. In the Mathias in the manuscript the head, like the feet, is seen in profile which adds a further complication to the figure. The position of the apostle on the north wall at Longthorpe is even more strange as he is placed nearly full face, while his legs and feet are seen completely from the side, which results in there being considerable doubt as to which leg crosses in front. This position with the figure striding forwards and the feet seen from the side, with a special stress on the heel of the foot behind, is seen in a more graceful form in certain figures both of the apostle and prophet series, and the series of small figures of apostles in Queen Mary's Psalter.⁷ Professor Wormald suggested that this unusual position of the feet might be a mannerism which originated in the court school of Westminster in the late thirteenth century, and which was continued by the court painters in the early fourteenth cen-

¹ *Ibid.* fo. 14^v.

² *Ibid.* fo. 15^v.

³ B.M. Royal MS. 2 B. VII, fo. 305.

⁴ *Ibid.* fos. 69^v and 70.

⁵ B.M. Arundel MS. 83, fo. 132.

⁶ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 53, fo. 18^v, pl. xi, a.

⁷ B.M. Royal MS. 2 B. VII, fos. 69^v, 70, and 304^v and 305, pl. xi, b.

ture.¹ It is found in the great wall-painting of St. Christopher in the south transept at Westminster, which is thought to have been painted by Master Walter of Durham about 1272,² and in the Angel of the Annunciation painted in 1308 on the back of the Sedilia at Westminster.³ The position seems to have become especially associated with the Archangel as it is found repeated in the Annunciation pictures in Queen Mary's Psalter,⁴ and the Hours of Alice de Reydon.⁵ It also occurs in various other figures found in the different manuscripts of this group. Another link with the Westminster School is probably to be seen in the head of the king behind the wheel, which seems to belong to a stylistically earlier period than the rest of the paintings. The type of kingly figure with the face framed by flowing hair can be traced back to the early thirteenth century,⁶ but it is to some of the Westminster figures that this head at Longthorpe has most resemblance, especially the St. Thomas in the Incredulity scene in the wall-paintings in the south transept, where again the forehead is domed and very high, the cheeks thin, the beard rounded and jutting out and the mouth down-curved.⁷ The main difference is that the eyebrows and upper eyelids are more arched and the eyes more oblique. Professor Tristram showed that this type of head was common in the Westminster School, and he traced its origins to the Douce Apocalypse which was also executed for the court about 1270, probably under strong French influence. Professor Tristram shows some most illuminating comparisons between the manuscript, the elaborate panel painting on the retable, and the transept wall paintings, in which the progressive simplification of the type can be studied. The eyes of the Longthorpe figure, which, as already shown, are less exaggeratedly curved than in the head of St. Thomas, have considerable resemblance to those of some of the many representations of St. John in the Apocalypse. The jutting beards, which are more marked in the other figures at Longthorpe than in the king behind the wheel, have very great similarity to those of figures from this court school, especially in the simplified form in which they are rendered in the wall-paintings of the Westminster transept. The little curl or quiff which is placed in the middle of the foreheads of a number of the Longthorpe figures can also be traced back to the thirteenth century. It can be found in French manuscripts such as the Gospels of Ste. Chapelle,⁸ in certain illustrations of the psalter of Robert de Lisle,⁹ and, very frequently, in the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels.¹⁰ It persisted into the fourteenth century as can be seen in the picture of God and Adam in the psalter from Ramsey Abbey¹¹ and in the Christ of the Resurrection in the Peterborough Psalter at Cambridge.¹²

While there are thus important links between the style of the Longthorpe figures and that of a group of works of art of the late thirteenth century, it is clear that the

¹ Lecture at the Courtauld Institute of Art.

² E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting, 13th Century*, p. 123, pl. xii.

³ Borenus and Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting*, p. 18, pl. 42.

⁴ B.M. Royal MS. 2 B. VII, fo. 84^v.

⁵ Cambridge, University Library, MS. Dd. 4. 17, fo. 6.

⁶ Figure of Christ from the Holy Sepulchre Chapel at Winchester; a head of a king in the cloisters at Windsor. E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting, 13th*

Century, pls. 34 and 27.

⁷ *Ibid.* Suppl. pls. 6-10, pp. 123 seq.

⁸ B.M. Add. MS. 17341.

⁹ B.M. Arundel MS. 83.

¹⁰ Brussels Bib. Roy. MSS. 9961-2, Facsimile ed. Van den Gheyn.

¹¹ Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 302, Millar, *op. cit.* pl. 21.

¹² Corpus Christi College MS. 53, fo. 9^v, Millar, *op. cit.* pl. 25.

closest stylistic analogy is still to the manuscripts of the group associated with Queen Mary's Psalter, in which some of these characteristics also persist. A further similarity can be seen when the composition in one of the window splays showing a bearded man teaching a group of youths (pl. vi, *b*) is compared to the subject of the teaching of the Creed in the *Somme le Roi* manuscript in the library of St. John's College of Cambridge,¹ which Dr. Eric Millar considered was illuminated by the artists of Queen Mary's Psalter and which Dr. M. R. James thought was of Peterborough origin.² A link with a still later manuscript is found in the close similarity between the composition on the south wall at Longthorpe with the two enthroned figures flanked by large shields (pl. xv, *c* and *d*; pl. xviii) and the picture of a seated king and queen in the *De Nobilitatibus* written in 1326-7 for Edward III before he assumed power (pl. xix, *a*).³ In this picture, besides the resemblance of the composition, the large gesticulating hands are similar to those of some of the Longthorpe figures. The manuscript has close connexions with the court. It was considered by Dr. Millar to be of mixed style with considerable resemblances to the Louterell Psalter, but less degenerate.⁴

On the whole it therefore seems that the Longthorpe paintings have more connexions with this unlocalized group of manuscripts with its links with the court, than with the East Anglian school of illumination which grew up so suddenly at the end of the thirteenth century, and whose main centres are geographically near to Peterborough. Peterborough, however, had itself been an important centre of artistic work for more than a century, and, at the end of the thirteenth century a magnificent psalter was executed for the cathedral, which in its figure style shows links with French art, but whose borders foreshadow those of the great East Anglian psalters. Two of the manuscripts associated with Queen Mary's Psalter and which are discussed above, are also of Peterborough provenance, so, to quote Dr. Millar again, 'Peterborough thus forms, up to a point, a connecting link between the two groups of MSS.'⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, to find similarities to East Anglian illumination in the Longthorpe paintings. This can be seen in some of the figures, in the elaborate borders, the profuse employment of heraldry and the beautiful paintings of birds. The most striking example of the similarity of the figures is seen when the painting of the young man with a dog on the east wall at Longthorpe (pl. xv, *b*) is compared to a little figure of a man with a hawk in the bottom border of fo. 131 of the Ormesby Psalter (pl. xxi, *b*).⁶ The proportions of the figure, the stance with head thrust forward and feet apart and turned outwards, are remarkably similar, as is also the simple tunic reaching to the calf with its curious flat double pleat in the centre of the front. The dogs also are practically identical. More important still, the same feeling for courtly grace animates both figures. Another example of the similarity between a figure in this psalter and one of the Longthorpe figures is seen if the Longthorpe David (pl. viii, *a*) is compared to the king to the left of King David in the Jesse Tree composition in the

¹ Cambridge, St. John's College MS. 256, fo. 143; Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, ii, pl. 40 *b*.

² Millar, *op. cit.* p. 16; M. R. James, *Catalogue of MSS. at St. John's College*, Cambridge, no. 256.

³ Walter de Milemete, *De Nobilitatibus, Sapientibus et*

Prudentibus Regum, Oxford, Christ Church Library, Facsimile Roxburghe Club 1913, fo. 4b.

⁴ Millar, *op. cit.* pp. 21-22.

⁵ Millar, *op. cit.* p. 11.

⁶ Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Douce 366.

manuscript.¹ The facial types are very similar, as is also the treatment of the hair and beard, while the same very definite system of modelling the face and portraying a deep horizontal furrow across the forehead is employed in both cases. It is interesting to compare the heads of these two figures with that of the David in the Exultate initial in the Louterell Psalter written probably some forty years later (pl. XXIII, *b*).² Here the shape of the head and the arrangement of the hair and beard are again very similar, but the features are exaggerated so that the eyes appear very sunken, while the mouth and lower jaw are thrust forward in a manner which verges on the grotesque.

As will be seen below, the Louterell Psalter provides interesting analogies for the other figures of musicians on the vault at Longthorpe, but there is always this note of hard and ugly exaggeration in the faces, and the drapery folds often stand out like hard cords in a manner quite dissimilar to the soft and flowing character of the folds in the garments of the Longthorpe figures (pl. XXIII, *a* and *b*). The grotesqueness which is seen in the most elaborate pages of the Louterell Psalter is not found in the simple border decorations, especially in figures which are left in outline, and similarities can be seen between some of these figures and those at Longthorpe. This is clear if the drawing of St. Francis in the psalter is compared to the hermit on the west wall at Longthorpe. The most characteristic feature of the East Anglian manuscripts is the way in which the text and illuminations of the pages chosen for decoration are surrounded by wide rectangular borders (pl. XXIII, *a* and *b*).³ Here foliage, flowers, birds, beasts, and insects, together with small scenes representing contemporary life, grotesques, medallions, and coats of arms are interwoven to form a rich carpet-like pattern. Although there is nothing in the Longthorpe paintings to equal the richness and intricacy of these designs, a somewhat similar intention can be seen in the borders of the lower compositions on the west and south walls (pls. II, IV, and XVIII). These borders have a solid dark-red ground on which the designs are painted in lighter tones. As there is so little contrast they are almost impossible to photograph. The best preserved of the borders is that above the lower composition on the west wall. Here there is an owl in the centre with other birds, one possibly a magpie, on either side, while a slender undulating scroll with lobed leaves almost completely enclosed in roundels runs along the whole length (pl. IV). A similar scroll with other birds ornaments the sides of the frame, and also the upright sides of the frame on the south wall. On this wall, however, the top border has a winged dragon in the centre whose tail itself develops into the scroll with enclosed leaves. There are no lower borders on either wall. Another interesting decorative motif is found on the face of the west wall under the first of the Labours of the Months scenes. Here there is a lightly drawn vine scroll with leaves and tendrils and a bird pecking at grapes (pl. III, *a*). The closest analogy for the scroll on the solid borders is to be found on certain pages of the Ormesby Psalter (pl. XXI, *b*)⁴ but it occurs also in the Bromholm Psalter⁵ (in a rather coarse and clumsy form), in certain pages of the Gorleston Psalter,⁶ and in both parts of MS. Arundel 83. A similar scroll is also to be seen in the Louterell Psalter,⁷ but here the

¹ Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Douce 366, fo. 9^v.

² B.M. Add. MS. 42130, fo. 149.

³ Millar, *English Illuminated MSS.* ii, 1-2.

⁴ Oxford MS. Douce 366, fo. 89, fo. 131, fo. 147^v etc.

⁵ Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Ashmole 1523.

⁶ Dyson Perrins MS. 13.

⁷ B.M. Add. MS. 42130.

stems are much thicker and the scroll itself has lost vigour and become flabby and lifeless (pl. XXIII, *b*). Naturalistic birds similar to those seen combined with the scrolls at Longthorpe are to be found in the borders of all the East Anglian manuscripts, but are not confined to the illumination produced in this school; one of the earliest examples of the introduction of these exquisitely painted birds is to be found in the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels,¹ which is of late thirteenth-century date. On the whole, however, it is to the birds as well as the scrolls in the Ormesby Psalter that the motifs in the Longthorpe borders show a resemblance. On fo. 38 of the Psalter, for instance, there are an owl and a magpie which are similar to those in the wall-painting,² and on the same folio a hawk and a squirrel which are similar to the creatures in the Five Senses subject on the opposite wall. The owl and magpie subject occurs again on Bishop Gower's rood screen at St. David's. The birds are similar to those at Longthorpe, as is also the foliage, which, in combination with the symbols of the evangelists, decorates a vault. These paintings can be dated between 1328 and 1347.³ The owl and magpie motif, which has a morality significance in the sense of the idle chatterers and busybodies of this world mocking at wisdom, is of very general occurrence. An instance may be cited from S. Gimignano in Italy, where in one of the civic buildings paintings of this subject are found over several of the doorways. The occurrence of the design of the bird pecking grapes at Longthorpe is unusual at this period (pl. III, *a*). There is a similar design of a vine scroll found on fo. 2 of the first psalter (East Anglian) of Arundel 83; there are no birds in the scroll—but birds are seen at the side. Besides these birds which are combined with scrolls and leaves in the solid borders at Longthorpe, there are others on a larger scale which are treated independently with only a very lightly drawn scroll, which appear more in the nature of a background (pls. III, *b*; VII and XVI, *b*). The seabirds, like most of the figures in other parts of the paintings, stand on grassy mounds. There is a pair of these large birds on either side of the opening of the window embrasure in the north wall, where they occupy the lowest zone of the paintings. They are well preserved and can be seen to have rather long legs, long necks, and curving beaks. They are obviously water birds and are probably intended for some species of wild goose or swan. There may have been other similar birds, or perhaps animals, in the lowest zone of the paintings in the window embrasure adjoining, but only slight traces remain; there was undoubtedly a representation of a peacock on the south wall of the east window embrasure, but only the crest and a few of the eye feathers of the tail are now visible. Two other birds, slightly smaller in scale, are to be seen one above the other on the face of the west wall at the north end. The top one is a bittern, which seems to be stretching its head upwards to utter its characteristic 'boom'; the other, which is slight and graceful with a very thin curved beak, is recognizable as a curlew (pl. III, *b*). All these birds, except the peacock, are common in the marshy lands of the fens and East Anglia. Oddly enough they are not very often employed by the illuminators of East Anglian manuscripts in their border designs, who preferred the brightly coloured finches or such birds as magpies or

¹ Bib. Roy. MSS. 9961-2.

² Very similar portrayals of the owl and magpie are found in the branches of the Tree of Vices in the psalter

of Robert de Lisle, Arundel 83, fo. 128.

³ Not fifteenth century as the late Mr. Aymer Vallance suggests (*Greater English Church Screens*, p. 62).

hawks which have characteristically patterned plumage. The closest parallel for the actual birds used at Longthorpe is probably the series to be found in the bestiary attached to Queen Mary's Psalter,¹ which includes ostriches, cranes, peacocks, and owls and magpies, but not the characteristic fen birds such as the bittern and curlew (pl. xxiv, *b*). Another possibility is that they were copied from a treatise on falconry, such as one of the many illustrated manuscripts of the 'De Arte Venandi cum Avibus' of Frederick II, in which birds of the marsh lands, which provided the falconer with his favourite prey, are profusely illustrated.² It is also possible that the bittern and the curlew, which are closer to life than any of the other birds in the wall paintings, may have been directly modelled on nature by the artist.³

There is no series of animals at Longthorpe which can be compared to the birds, but at least two creatures can be discerned. The first is a painting which fills in a space over the door in the south wall below the west part of the subject of the two enthroned figures with shields. The animal has a stag-like body with short ears (the rest of the head being destroyed by a plaster failure) and is being closely pursued by a hunter armed with a bow and arrow. The creature can be seen to be a *bonacon*, which was thought to be like a stag, and which, when pursued, was said to shoot out the contents of its stomach in the face of the hunters and then make good its escape. The Longthorpe animal can be seen to be trying to escape by means of this trick (pl. xx, *a*). This subject is clearly copied from a bestiary since illustrations and descriptions are given in practically all the known bestiaries, many of which are of English origin. Illustrations of the *bonacon* are included in both the bestiary attached to Queen Mary's Psalter and to that attached to the Peterborough Psalter at Cambridge, but the Longthorpe animal has more resemblance to that found in one of the earliest surviving bestiaries which dates from the end of the twelfth century.⁴ The other animal at Longthorpe seems to resemble a sheep but it is very indistinct, so that it is not possible to hazard a guess about the prototype used by the painter. This creature is on the jamb of the containing arch of the west wall. It is not clear why either of the animals was included in the scheme of decoration at Longthorpe. The *bonacon* was probably intended for a *drollerie*. Small scenes with animals performing fantastic actions are one of the most characteristic motifs of the borders of East Anglian manuscripts,⁵ but these are seldom drawn from bestiaries; no other example of a *bonacon* used as a *drollerie* has been found.⁶

A detailed note on the heraldry at Longthorpe is given below, but it is necessary to note the very important part played by heraldry in the decoration. There are remains of seven shields at Longthorpe together with three banners of arms and the great heraldic diaper surrounded with a tapestry border in the lower zone of paintings on the south wall. This appreciation of the decorative qualities of heraldic subjects can also be seen in manuscripts of the period, especially those of the East Anglian

¹ B.M. Royal MS. 2 B. VII, fos. 85^v-130^v. Especially fos. 123-4^v, 128^v.

² C. A. Wood and M. Fyfe, *The Art of Falconry*, Stanford University Press, 1943. Compare B.M. MS. Fr. 12400, fo. 6. Wood & Fyfe, pl. 38, c. 1300.

³ But see also Tristram, *English Wall Painting*, 14th

Century, p. 108.

⁴ M. R. James, *Bestiary*, Roxburghe Club, 1928. Introduction, p. 38, pl. 10a.

⁵ Millar, *English Illuminated MSS.* ii, 1-2.

⁶ See below, p. 7.

school where shields of arms and other heraldic devices are worked into the borders and also used for line endings.¹ The arms shown are not only those of the patrons for whom the manuscripts were executed, but often the arms of all the leading families of England are repeated again and again.

E. C. R. and A. B.

COSTUME

Before concluding this discussion of the stylistic character of the Longthorpe paintings and their probable date, some mention must be made of the costume worn by the figures, the musical instruments carried by the figures on the vault, and the lettering of the inscriptions. Many of the figures in the purely religious scenes wear formal dress consisting of a long robe over which a cloak is worn loosely draped over the shoulders and hanging open in front. Similar garments are worn by King David on the vault, the king with the wheel, and apparently by the two large seated figures on the south wall. The king who is addressing the Three Dead wears a shorter robe, which reaches only to his ankles, and a cloak which, like that of the king with the wheel, is fastened by a morse. A morse is also used to fasten the cloak worn by the praying hermit on the west wall. The crowns are of various types. The earliest is that of the second king in the Three Living and Three Dead subject which has a shallow base and round-ended leaves or fleurs-de-lis (pl. xii). These leaves can be seen to be taller and more pointed in the crown of the king with the wheel (pl. xvi) and that of the first king of the Three Living and Three Dead subject, while the crown of the seated figure on the south wall has pointed out-curving projections (pl. xv, c). The first of this type of crown is that used in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, but the last type only came into fashion between 1330 and 1340.² The figures of laymen are naturally more interesting from the point of view of the history of costume. In these figures the length of the garments seems to vary with the age of the wearer, the garments of the young men reaching to the middle of the calf, those of the middle-aged, like the indistinct figure at the south end of the west wall, a little lower, while those of old men such as *Decrepitus* in the Seven Ages, right to the ankle. The young men are certainly wearing loose unbelted *super-tunics* over *tunics*. The sleeves of the outer garment are cut off in a point just below the elbow, and the tight sleeves of the tunic itself are seen below reaching to the wrist. The super-tunic was cut so that the skirt widened out below the waist, but even so the front was usually split open almost to the fork to allow freedom of movement. In the wall-paintings it seems as if the edges of these openings are turned back to form deep folds.³ The figures wear hoods attached to *gorgets*. Their hair is cut in a long bob and some of them have it elaborately curled. They seem to wear hose, and their shoes are high and rather square-toed, mostly with laced fastenings at the side. Perhaps the most

¹ Millar, *op. cit.* p. 2. The Ormesby Psalter provides the best example of this profuse employment of heraldry. A careful study of the arms has been made. See *Two East Anglian Psalters*, ed. by Sidney Cockerell and R. Thomas for the Roxburghe Club, 1926, pp. 28-33.

² For a discussion of the earlier forms of English crown

see M. R. Holmes, 'The Crowns of England' in *Arch. lxxxvi* (1937), 75-90.

³ In B.M. MS. Arundel 83 (first part) the prophets on fo. 2 wear super-tunics slit up in the same way, the contrasting colour of the tunic is seen through the slit.

interesting of these figures is that of the hawker who forms the central figure of the Seven Ages of Man (pl. VIII, *b*). The upper part is destroyed, but he seems to have worn the *super-tunic* with the central opening. This garment also seems to have had a pocket-like slit higher up, through which is thrust either a dagger or a perch which was apparently fixed to the belt which was commonly worn over the under-tunic. The hood hangs from this dagger or perch. The bird, with the jesses dangling from its legs, is sitting on the man's heavily gloved left hand. The lure (either a dead pigeon or an artificial bird made of feathers with a piece of meat attached to it) is hanging on the same side.

A hawker with almost exactly the same accoutrements is seen in the Ormesby Psalter (pl. XXI, *b*).¹ It is difficult to find an exact date for the costume worn by these younger men for, as Kelly² points out, lay costume changed very little from the end of the twelfth century until about 1335. The chief indication of date is given by the sleeves which are definitely tighter than those represented in manuscripts of the early fourteenth century. An exact parallel for the way in which the sleeves of the *super-tunics* are cut into points can be found in the Louterell Psalter of 1340 (pl. XXIII).³ The tightness of the sleeves is seen again in the figure of King David on the vault (pl. VIII, *a*), and the first of the Three Living, and seems to foreshadow the fashions of the second half of the fourteenth century when garments were moulded very closely to the body. This same approach to the fashions of the mid-century is seen still more markedly in the garments worn by the seated figures in the lower zone of the west wall (pl. II). These figures still wear the unbelted *super-tunics* with wide, and in this case, long skirts. The garments, as was quite usual, were not joined down the sides, although here the fronts and backs are caught together at intervals by a number of *points*. The figure to the south is wearing a hat instead of a hood. It is possible that this hat is actually the hood and gorget with the top of the head inserted in the facial opening, and the gorget and hood itself rolled into deep folds on the top of the head. This strange use of the hood came into fashion about 1300. Hoods worn in the ordinary way with the head part either drawn up or left hanging down the back are found in the costume of a number of the other figures and are conspicuous in the January, February, and March scenes from the Twelve Labours of the Month series (pl. II). An interesting detail in the March figure is that the skirt of the tunic is somehow hitched back so that the linen braies can be seen clothing the legs as far as the knees (pl. IV).

THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The musical instruments at Longthorpe form an interesting series, and in one or two cases the details are well preserved. The harp played by King David, except for its animal carving (pl. VIII, *a*), is similar to that in the Exultate initial in Bodleian MS. Douce 131, folio 68^v (pl. XIII, *c*), but without the bag or travelling case at the bottom. The psaltery has its strings in pairs, apparently carried over a bridge, possibly of metal near the edge, which roughly follows the shape of the instrument (pl. XXII, *b*). There

¹ Oxford, Bodleian. MS. Douce 366, fo. 131, above, p. 19.

² Kelly and Schwabe, *A short History of Costume and Armour* (1931), i. 17.

³ *Ibid.* p. 19.

are three elaborate sound holes in the wooden body; but an unusual feature is the omission of the stops or tuning pegs at the sides normally seen (cf. Douce, above) where also the strings are played with a kind of plectrum. In passing, the similarity of the chairs occupied by the two kings playing on chime bells in the same miniature, to the Longthorpe chairs, is very noticeable (pl. XIII, *c*).

The organ appears to have sixteen pipes ending in a supporting post with an embattled top, and there is a double keyboard. The bellows were evidently at the back and worked by the left hand, while the right hand manipulates the actual keys (pl. XXII, *c*). The viols are both rather imperfect, and it has been suggested that one may, in fact, be a gittern (pls. XXII, *d*; v, *b*). One seems to be held more on the shoulder than under the chin. The bag-pipes again are very fragmentary, only part of the chanter with finger holes, and part of the bag, remaining. It is not possible to see whether there was more than one drone (pl. XXII, *a*). The remarkable similarity of the Longthorpe instruments to those portrayed in the borders of the Loutterell Psalter should be noted (pls. XXIII, *a* and *b*).

THE HERALDRY

The heraldry at Longthorpe plays a very important part in the decoration. Seven shields, three banners of arms, and a great heraldic diaper is all that can now be discerned, but it seems probable the scheme was originally more extensive. Those parts which survive are fragmentary and the difficulty of interpreting the arms is increased by the fact that little, if any, meaning can be attached to the existing tinctures which have greatly changed by fading, oxidation, or the perishing of over-painting, which has only left an under-painting of a different colour. It may be questioned, moreover, whether any attempt was ever made to represent such tinctures as blue or green, or whether the artist confined himself to the use of black, white, and red, with possibly gold, more in the nature of tricking or diagram, as was done in the case of many of the shields in the remarkable scheme in the nave of Chalgrave Church, Bedfordshire, which are of about the same period.¹

Mention has already been made of the two large shields which flank the two enthroned figures in the upper zone of paintings on the south wall (pl. xv, *d*), and the similarity of the composition to that of a picture of a king and queen in the 'De Nobilitatibus &c.' of Walter de Millimete has been pointed out (pl. xviii).² The shields are heater-shaped and are represented as hanging from loops by their leather straps on which some tooling can be faintly seen, as well as the eyelet holes for adjustment with buckles. The shields are the largest of those represented in the Great Chamber and measure $31\frac{1}{2} \times 27$ in. Four of the other shields are grouped on the soffit of the north window arch; these measure about 24×20 in. extreme measurements.³ The last surviving shield is found immediately above the little aumbry on the jamb of the containing arch of the big west wall recess. The banners are painted on the south part of the soffit of this same arch, and are separated from the shield by a representation of an animal, which is possibly a copy of a bestiary subject. The northern part of this arch apparently collapsed at some time and has been replastered. It appears

¹ See *R.A.I. Journal*, xcii (1936), 86-92.

² Above, p. 19; pl. XIX, *a*.

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³ It is possible that the window arches to the east and west were originally decorated in a similar way.

probable that three similar banners were painted on this side to balance the composition. The banners measure 24×17 in. Two of them can be seen to be mounted on a pole or staff which is held by a hand, and it is probable that the third was similarly represented.

The heraldic diaper occupies the whole of the lower zone of the south wall and is enclosed on three sides by an elaborate border of birds and foliage.

The plaster of the south wall was in a worse condition than that of any other part of the chamber, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that any of the painting was recovered and preserved. Most of the detail has been lost, but sufficient traces of painting on the two large shields here remain to enable their charges to be deciphered with a fair degree of assurance. That on the left (east) is charged with three leopards in pale. The ground is a dirty brown with some traces of red which is not unlike that used for the darker divisions of the gyronny shield of the north window recess. The leopards bear copious traces of a brilliant vermillion. The arms are apparently those of England prior to the thirteenth year of Edward III (1340), when the fleurs-de-lis of France were introduced. The difficulty of the tinctures can be explained by accepting the vermillion in this case as an under-painting for gold, which is the correct colour for the leopards, and by considering that the gold has perished leaving the base very bright. The use of red as an under-painting for gold, particularly in gesso work on panel, is a normal procedure.

The corresponding shield on the west is even less complete, but it seems certain that it bore three leopards within a white border, the arms of Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, son of Edward I.¹ Only some of the claws of the leopards remain, together with some scraps of colouring, which again contain much vermillion. Enough can be seen of the placing of the animals to establish their identity, and the white border is quite definite. The shields are almost certainly those of the figures whom they accompany and these figures can therefore be identified as Edward III before 1340, and his uncle the duke of Kent.

Of the four shields in the north window recess two are only represented by fragments on which no tinctures or charges can be made out. Almost the whole of the third remains, and about half or a little more of the fourth. The third bears a gyronny coat of eight pieces and indeterminate colours, possibly red and white. This would appear to be for BASSINGBOURNE, who bore gyronny coats which varied in number and colours but included argent and gules. A Humfridus de Bassingburne appears in the list of Peterborough knights in the Register of Walter of Whittlesey in the late thirteenth century,² and there was another Humfridus who was tenant of Benefield in 1346.³ The fourth shield seems to have borne paly (of 10 or 12) with an indented chief, but no colours are discernible within the strong red outlines. The late Mr. Greening Lamborn suggested that this coat might be for MOUNTENEY (though the chief is not normally indented) and noted that in 1316 Thos. de Mounteney was holding Riston,

¹ It is interesting to find that these two coats of arms on large shields are found side by side on several pages of the *De Nobilitatibus Sapientibus et Prudentibus Regis*, Roxburghe Club 1918, pp. 38, 48, 50, and 96.

² W. T. Mellows, 'Knights of Peterborough Barony'

and W. H. Lord, 'Notes on the Escutcheons of the Knights', *Annual Report of Peterborough N.H.S.* 1925.

³ I am indebted to the late Mr. Greening Lamborn for this information.

Northants., and Richard de Thorpe and John de Mounteney, Thorpe and Coton in Nottinghamshire. The shield above the little aumbry on the jamb of the containing arch to the big west wall recess is also very imperfect, but it is possible to say with certainty that it is charged with a bold fess indented or dancetty with traces of small charges between. This might be for WATERVILLE who bore gules a fess dancetty between cross crosslets fitchy argent.¹ Robert Waterville was among the late thirteenth century Knights of the Barony, so it appears very probable that his arms might be represented in this position. It is possible, however, that the arms are intended for those of Vitalis ENGAYNE of Benefield against whose name in the manuscript of the Walter of Whittlesey Register there is a sketch indicating a fess dancetty; other versions of D'Engaine and Baron Engaine give seven and ten cross crosslets with the fess.

The banners, although more or less complete in outline, retain practically no detail. It was at one time doubtful if anything intelligible could be recovered here at all as the plaster was badly perished and the surface covered thickly with yellow distemper. The lowest of the banners has some indistinct traces of charges, perhaps crosslets and a fess, but it is impossible to suggest to what family it belongs. The banner in the middle revealed itself only on exposure to the ultra-violet lamp when a perfect checky field was disclosed, with, possibly, a fess. In view of the many uncertainties it would be unwise to risk an identification, although there is some resemblance to the arms of the Norfolk Thorpes, who bore checky or and gules (or azure) with a fess argent or ermine with three martlets. The third banner, which is also very imperfect, appears to have borne three lions or leopards passant in pale. If, as seems possible, their present colouring of vermilion and black is the remnants only of the underpainting, it may be suggested that the banner represented the leopards of England.

Finally, the heraldic diaper on the lower part of the south wall must be considered. Like the rest of the heraldic decoration in the Great Chamber it is fragmentary, and its interpretation presented great difficulties. It is certain, however, that the scheme was a coat bearing a fess between six fleurs-de-lis, alternating with another whose details cannot be recovered. Both coats were displayed on lozenges the background of the first being darker than that of the second.

The original effect must have been one of great richness. On the first coat the tinctures are now black for the fess and vermilion for the lis, but it is probable that these are the remains of underpainting. The arms are undoubtedly those of the Thorpes, since a Robert Thorpe, brother of Sir John Thorpe of Rippingale, Lincs. sealed a document in 1366 with a fess between six lis.² In this case there is of course no indication of the tinctures, and, in any case, the tinctures adopted by this branch of the family would very probably be different from those used by the Thorpes of Longthorpe since it was usual in early heraldry for branches of the same family to difference their arms by a change of tinctures. The coat which alternates with that of the Thorpes in the diaper is impossible to interpret. The lozenge appeared completely plain until ultra-violet radiation produced a fluorescence from a small white design in the centre of the upper part of the lozenge which looked rather like the top half of a rather fully drawn fleur-de-lis. This design was obviously painted with the same

¹ The arms seem to have varied somewhat.

² *British Museum Catalogue of Seals*, iii, 587.

material as that used for the fleur-de-lis on the robe of the second living king in the composition of the Three Living and Three Dead, which are again only visible under ultra-violet light. It is not possible to suggest what arms were represented on these lozenges.

This examination of the remains of the heraldic decoration at Longthorpe shows that the royal arms were represented at least twice, those of the duke of Kent once, while the other charges were those of the Thorpes themselves together with those of Bassingbourne and either Waterville or Engaine, all of whom were Knights of the Peterborough Barony. It therefore appears that the Thorpes caused the Great Chamber of their house to be decorated with the royal arms and those of their co-tenants and fellow knights of the barony, for the duke and duchess of Kent held certain manors from the abbey.¹

The prominence given to the duke, however, may perhaps be due to political circumstances as well as to his position as a tenant to the abbey. It is possible that in placing the arms of their fellow knights on the walls of the Great Chamber the Thorpes were following a fashion set in the abbey itself, for, sometime during the thirteenth century the walls of the sanctuary were decorated with the arms of a number of the Knights of the Barony.² Thirteen shields can now be discerned; some of them are on a plain background and some are set against a masonry pattern, while others are against a powdering of crescents. Among those which can now be deciphered are the shields of WATERVILLE, GUNTORPE, ST. MEDARD, KELPSTON, and LUCY.³ This extensive use of heraldry in painted decoration is quite usual in the late thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth, conspicuous examples being the Painted Chamber at Westminster,⁴ the decoration of Hailes Church, Glos.,⁵ and Chalgrave Church, Beds.⁶

TECHNIQUE, MATERIALS, ETC.

It is possible to trace the hand certainly of two, and possibly of three, artists at work in the Great Chamber. The master was probably a man working in the manner of the great linear tradition of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. He worked in a direct and vigorous way with immense skill of outline. It is possible, however, that this strong linear appearance is deceptive since much of his work was undoubtedly filled in with more solid colour, subtle shading, and detail which, as already mentioned, has perished. This master was certainly responsible for setting out the main design for the whole decorative scheme. He also filled in the detail of some of the figures, but seems to have left the rest to an assistant. Thus a considerable difference can be noticed between various heads; this can be studied most easily if the head of the king

¹ Torpel and Upton. On the death of Roger Torpel these manors passed to John de Camoys who surrendered them to Edward I. This king granted them to Queen Eleanor as dower and she was holding them under the abbey in 1284. In 1290 they were placed in the abbey's keeping. Below, p. 37.

² The Knights of the Barony were the descendants and successors of the knights enfeoffed by Thorold on the

Abbey Estates at the command of William I. W. T. Mellows, 'The Knights of the Peterborough Barony', *Annual Report of the Peterborough N.H.S.* 1925.

³ W. T. Mellows, *op. cit.* and W. H. H. Lord, 'Notes on the Escutcheons of the Knights'.

⁴ T. Borenius and E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting*, p. 18.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 22.

⁶ E. Clive Rouse in *R.A.I. Journal*, xcii (1936), 86-92.

behind the wheel (pl. xvi, *a*) is compared to that of King David (pl. viii, *a*), for the proportions, the shape of the features, the modelling and the arrangement of the head are all very different. A similar contrast can be seen between the figures of the second and those of the fifth group of apostles. A third man or apprentice seems to have been employed. He seems to have carried out some of the simpler work such as drawing the final outlines of the scrolls and subsidiary figures and objects. There is sometimes considerable divergence between these final outlines and the original setting-out lines; this may sometimes have been accidental, but in other cases it was no doubt due to a deliberate correction. Alterations can be seen in the outlines of the scrolls in the two small 'teaching' subjects in the lower zones of the window recesses (pl. vi), and also in the shape of the wheel, and the position of the pig and the cock on the right side of its rim, which were originally placed too low (pl. xvii). The outline of the hair of the king behind the wheel can be seen to have been modified, for the faint black line can still be seen in spite of the attempts which were evidently made to scrape it off the plaster. More elaborate attempts at concealing mistakes made in the original setting out can be observed in the figure of King David (pl. viii, *a*) whose hands were placed too low down. Here the original hands were painted out with black and then this was covered with cream or pink flesh tint which has now worn off. Most of the setting-out lines are in faint red or pink, but that of the hair of the king behind the wheel was black. The haloes were all set out in the plaster with a compass, and the ornamental sound holes in the wooden body of the psaltery of one of the musicians in the vault are similarly incised. Mechanical means seem also to have been employed in the outlining of the rim and spokes of the great wheel. The painting in the lower zone of the west wall under the composition of the hermit is particularly interesting from the point of view of technique, as the two large seated figures were apparently left in an unfinished condition (pl. ii). What is now visible seems to be little more than a first setting out or an artist's cartoon. Although most of the filling-in and modelling of the other figures has disappeared, there is always *some* indication of colour, drapery lines, and the outlines of features or the fingers of the hand. Here there is only the bare outline of the figure and its garments with an indication of the main drapery lines. There does not seem to have been any suggestion of features within the outline of the faces, and the beards jut forward within a smooth contour with no attempt to show the hair. The drawing of the hands is very curious. The thumb is drawn separately, but the other fingers are surrounded by a smooth line with a slight nick to show that the index finger is shorter than the two middle ones. The same method of drawing the hands was obviously used in the first setting out of the other figures, but the fingers can always be seen to have been drawn in over the original outline. The scrolls, which the two figures on the west wall were pointing towards, are only indicated by a single line.

The painting is all in distemper with probably a lime medium or vehicle. The plaster is of the ordinary lime kind, in places thickly faced with lime putty to make a painting surface. This putty was applied with a fairly coarse brush, the strokes of which are often apparent. Some remaining bristles have been identified as hog's hair. There are many failures and settlement cracks in the walls. The setting of small stone rubble in walls 6 ft. thick must have needed a vast amount of material, and it is clear

that the quality of the mortar or its lime content was not always of the best. The under-coat or main lime mortar of the walls has perished in various places.

The prevailing colours are now red and yellow ochre; there are also traces of white and black. Originally, as already shown, the colour range was much greater. Vermilion occurs in a number of places. On the robes of some of the figures it was probably used for its own sake, but, in the case of the heraldry on the south wall, it was probably used as an underpainting for gold. This was a common practice where gilt is used on a gesso background. Oddly enough, red, used for its own sake, has not survived as a solid ground tincture in the heraldry.

Evidence of underpainting is plentiful, especially in the faces and hands of the figures where *veneda* or black is used under the flesh tint overpainting (pls. x; xvi, *a* and *b*). This over-painting, which was very thin and delicate and must have allowed the dark beneath to show through very faintly, with almost the effect of a bloom, has only survived in the figures of the king behind the wheel and King David. Most of the other figures have, therefore, an unfortunately Ethiopian appearance. A similar black under-painting of the flesh tints can be seen in some of the series of wall paintings on the pillars of the nave in St. Albans Abbey which was begun in the early years of the thirteenth century and continued later. At Longthorpe it is probable that this use of a black underpainting was not confined to the faces and hands, but was used for some of the birds as well as for cloak linings and other details which occur in the compositions and which were clearly finished in delicate shades of grey, pink, and cream.

With the primary purpose of using every possible means to decipher the inscriptions most of the paintings were subjected to examination by ultra-violet light. It was hoped that, if lamp black had been used for the lettering it would leave an oily residue which would show by fluorescence. No success was achieved with the inscriptions although other surprising fluorescences took place, the most interesting of which was the revelation that the robe of the second of the Living Kings was powdered with tiny fleurs-de-lis in an almost invisible white on a white ground (pl. xii). Other details, especially overpainting on robes, the delineation of features, the drawing in of the legs of birds and spots on the borders of backgrounds, showed up in a similar way. It is clear, therefore, that what is now visible is little more than the shadow of a once elaborate and impressively colourful scheme of decoration.

In one or two areas, especially on the south wall and east window recess, where the walls are in especially bad condition, there is evidence that a second scheme of decoration was applied over the original painting. This is probably because the plaster or pigment in these areas deteriorated at a quite early stage in the history of the room. There are also signs, here and there, of deliberate defacement. This is especially visible in the vault. This defacement is not necessarily to be regarded as the work of iconoclasts at the time of the Reformation for it may have taken place long before, when perhaps the paintings already showed signs of deterioration.

PRESERVATION

The policy pursued in dealing with the painting was to uncover every area where painting survived and to clean and fix it. At the same time plaster repairs were exe-

cuted. In many cases, where there were serious settlement cracks or failures or unsuitable previous patching, this amounted almost to structural work. In the wheel subject, for instance, parts of the plaster were actually loose from the wall, and the number of repairs, large and small, amounted to over sixty. It should be emphasized that no touching up of the existing paintings was done. Plaster repairs were toned down so as not to distract the eye, and in a few cases broken lines or areas were suggested by a light toning. Areas of completely perished plaster or miscellaneous patching (as in the vault) were colour-washed. A complete record by means of measured water-colour drawings has been made, as well as a series of photographs.

After the tower structure had been presented to the Ministry of Works, the Ancient Monuments Department assumed responsibility for it, and a comprehensive programme of repair and conservation has been carried out. This work included the filling up by a method of tamping, with tile stitches, of the several alarming settlement cracks, and the placing of a concealed concrete beam round the top of the whole building to tie it together. The lower portion, where no complications of painting hindered operations, was able to be grouted. Excavation of the base of the walls revealed a chamfered plinth round the whole structure.

It is useful in conclusion to summarize the evidence about the date of the paintings. It has been shown that the tower was probably built about 1300, and that structural defects in the north wall of the Great Chamber appeared and were repaired before the paintings were executed. This may have happened fairly soon after the building had been completed, but it is likely that a number of years elapsed before the defect showed itself. The costume of the figures indicates quite definitely that the paintings were finished before the middle of the century. While male costume had changed very little in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, there is a very definite change of fashion about the middle of the century and men began to wear very tight garments, designed to emphasize the shape of the body. The tight sleeves worn by some of the Longthorpe figures are an early indication of this change of fashion. An almost exact parallel can be seen in the figures in the Louterell Psalter executed about 1340, and also in some of the wall paintings of South Newington which Professor Tristram considered were executed about 1330. The form of the crowns is consistent with this dating. A limiting date is given by the royal arms which accompany the enthroned king on the south wall, for the large shield bears only the leopards of England and not the fleurs-de-lis which were added in the first and fourth quarters in 1340 when Edward III set out his claim to the throne of France. The juxtaposition of the arms of England and of Edmund Woodstock, earl of Kent, finds a parallel in the way in which the arms of England are placed side by side in the borders of some of the pages of the treatise of Walter de Milimete which is thought to have been written in 1326-7 and presented to Edward III shortly after his coronation. At this time the earl of Kent was a member of the small council which governed in the name of the young king. It seems probable that the painting at Longthorpe was designed to commemorate the death of the earl, who fell victim to the hated Mortimer in January 1330, and that it may have been inspired by Thomas Wake, lord of Bourne, who was one of Edward's most trusted councillors after the execution of Mortimer, and was himself a

very active Lancastrian and was the brother of the earl of Kent's widow. The Lancastrian party seem to have regarded their cause almost in the light of a crusade, for already Thomas, earl of Lancaster, the leader of the Lords Ordainers who had been executed after the defeat of the Baronial party by Edward II and the Despensers in 1322, had been beatified, and Edward III petitioned in 1327, 1330, and 1331 for his canonization. The Longthorpe painting may be regarded as a parallel to the most interesting representation of the martyrdom of Thomas of Lancaster at South Newington which Professor Tristram suggested was placed in the church in 1330 as a 'votive offering for the success of the petition for the canonization'.¹

The stylistic evidence agrees also with these other indications. Some of the figures, especially that of the king behind the wheel, show connexions with the style of late thirteenth-century paintings, especially those of the transepts in Westminster Abbey of 1272, but, on the whole, the closest links are with the style of the Queen Mary Psalter and other manuscripts of the same group, especially the Peterborough Psalter at Cambridge. Unfortunately there is no indication of the exact date of Queen Mary's Psalter; it is thought to have been produced during the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The Peterborough Psalter was executed between 1299 and 1321, while Hugh de Stiuecle was prior. Alice de Reydon, for whom the Sarum Horae was written, died in 1310, and the remaining manuscripts of the group must have been produced at about the same time. Close resemblances can be seen between the painting on the south wall at Longthorpe and one of the miniatures of the Treatise of Walter de Milimete of 1326-7. Other affinities can be found with manuscripts of the East Anglian school, especially the Ormesby Psalter, the main parts of which were certainly finished before 1320 and are sometimes thought to be of late thirteenth-century date. Other links, chiefly iconographical, have been pointed out between the paintings and the illuminations of the psalter of Robert de Lisle which is now also thought to have been executed in the late thirteenth century. A comparison of the paintings with the Louterell Psalter shows them to be far superior, and they do not seem to show signs of the stylistic deterioration which the illuminations of this famous book suggest was taking place in English art in the mid-fourteenth century. When all these points are taken into consideration it seems probable that the Great Chamber at Longthorpe was decorated about 1330, perhaps soon after the second Robert Thorpe succeeded his father.

APPENDIX I

THE LETTERING (pls. xx, *b* and xxi, *a*)

MR. W. H. DURST has produced an alphabet from the lettering at Longthorpe. One or two letters are not represented in the remaining fragments of inscriptions; but sufficient survives to give a very good idea of the script.

There are actually several variations within the alphabet used—thus some A's and I's have thin parallel strokes joining the top and bottom serifs, while others are plain and there is more than one form of E and H.

¹ See *Burl. Mag.* lxii, March 1933, p. 124.

Comparison with examples in H. S. Kingsford's paper on lettering on seals,¹ suggests that the Longthorpe script falls within category 3, Good Lombardic: and alphabets illustrated at dates between 1320 and 1340 can be paralleled at Longthorpe.

I am grateful to Mr. Durst, the Ministry of Works Custodian at the tower, for his admirable copy of the Longthorpe alphabet, and for his alternative readings of the inscriptions which he has had opportunity to study at close quarters for several years.

Every effort was made to render the inscriptions legible; they were inspected under all conditions of lighting, and Professor Wormald saw them on the spot. They were also examined and photographed under infra-red and ultra-violet light; but no appreciable improvement could be made.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

West Wall

- A. 1. 2. Space over arch of the large recess has the names of the months under the figures which represent the Twelve Labours of the Months.

IANUER (Januarius, or more likely the Norman-French version Janvier): FEVER (Februarius or Fevrier). March inscription destroyed: APRIL (Aprilis or Avril). The remainder destroyed, though the December scene survives, of a man killing a pig.

Main subject. Back wall of recess

- C. 1. Whole central part of composition between the hermit and the seated youth is occupied by a long inscription in Latin, only a few words of which can be read. The late Sir Ellis H. Minns very kindly produced a version, with notes, of what he could read on an enlarged photograph taken on infra-red plates. This is given in version (b). For comparison, readings by myself and Mr. W. H. Durst from the actual painting are given in (a) and (c).

For alternative readings see Appendix III, pp. 56-57.

- C. 2. Scrolls accompanying seated figures in lower zone left unfinished.

North splay of window recess. Upper zone

- E. 1. Scrolls accompanying apostles at the commencement of the Creed series.
 St. Peter E . . . M . . . TE . . . (only isolated letters visible).
 Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Creatorem Caeli et Terrae.
 St. Andrew I . . . S . . . UM (only isolated letters visible).
 Et in Ihesum Christum filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum.
- E. 3. Tonsured figure teaching child has scroll with words:
 NO(TR)E DAME N(O)VS ASOVDRA DE LA PE . . (could be either peine or péché).

*North Wall**Upper zone. Seven Ages of Man*

- F. 1. Figures named on red band beneath each, except Infans which is at the side: beginning from the west: INFANS: PVE(R): ADOL(SC)E(NS): Vir and Mediaevus perished: SE(NECTVS): DECREPITVS.

¹ H. S. Kingsford, 'The Epigraphy of Medieval English Seals', *Archaeologia*, lxxix (1929), 149-78.

Middle zone. Continuation of Apostles' Creed Series.

- F. 3. St. James E SPIRITU SANCTO NA. V.
 Qui Conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto: Natus ex Maria Virgine.
 Apostle 4. PILATO CRU. SEP.
 (unidentified) Passus sub Pontio Pilato, Crucifixus, Mortuus et Sepultus.

West splay of north window

- G. 1. Apostle 5. DESCENDIT AD
 Descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis
 Apostle 6. (Ascendit ad Caelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis). Entirely
 destroyed.

East splay

- G. Apostle 7. (Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos). Entirely destroyed.
 Apostle 8. SPIRITUM SANCTUM.
 Credo in Spiritum Sanctum.

Face of wall East of window

- F. 3. Woman with scroll LESIAM CATHOLICAM: SANCTORUM COMMUNIONEM.
 In place of Apostle 9. Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam: Sanctorum Communionem.
 Apostle 10. REMISSIONEM PE.
 Remissionem peccatorum.

East Wall

- J. 1. Upper zone north wall of east window recess.
 Apostle 11. Carnis resurrectionem. Only traces of inscription.
 Apostle 12. Et vitam aeternam. Amen. Only traces of inscription.
 Under all the figures of the Apostles there are traces of lettering, probably their names.
 J. 2. Lower zone in alcove in north wall of east window recess. Bearded man has scroll, the
 words visible are OREILLE and CUST. . . . Only isolated letters are decipherable elsewhere.
 K. 1. } East window recess, upper zone east wall and south wall. Traces of inscription under the
 K. 2. } figures of the Three Living and Three Dead Kings.
 L. 1. Main face of wall, upper zone. A long inscription in Latin forms the central part of the
 composition as in the corresponding scene on the west wall. Completely illegible.
 L. 2. Main face of wall, lower zone, the king and the Wheel of the Senses. There were inscrip-
 tions round the rim of the wheel and on the spokes. Only the letters VE: under the spider
 can be read, with isolated letters on the rim near the boar, and on two of the spokes.

South Wall

- M. 1. There is a long French inscription, occupying three lines under the two enthroned figures
 with shields. Only odd letters can be seen and these are often not clear; these letters are:

✠: RECIP(?)S(?): SA . . A: AU:
 TEEP(?): CI:LA:DEP(?)R
 : . . . : TREIS : E . . . :
 Mr. Durst gives an alternative for this:
 R(E)GIN. : S . DA : AVC . .
 CEST : M . IC : DEP :
 SU . : TREIS : SOVRT :

E. C. R.

The Interpretation and Iconography of the Longthorpe Paintings

By MISS AUDREY BAKER, PH.D.

THE paintings on the south wall are interesting because they represent historical persons and can therefore provide an indication of the date when the Great Chamber was decorated. Mr. Rouse has shown that the great shields, which flank the two enthroned figures, are those of Edward II or Edward III (before 1340), and Edmund Woodstock, earl of Kent, who was a son of Edward I.¹ Since the arms on the other shields and the banners are those of some of the knights and tenants of Peterborough Abbey it may be that the king and the earl were represented in this position simply as the suzerain and the greatest of the abbey's tenants respectively. The fact that the earl is seen sitting on a throne and discoursing with the king, however, suggests that the painting was especially designed to do him honour and commemorate his name. Edmund played a notably weak and vacillating part in the events of his time, but his tragic and unjust execution gave him a measure of posthumous popularity.² In 1324 he joined Isabella and Mortimer and took a leading part in the overthrow of the Despensers and the deposition of his half-brother, Edward II. He was present at the coronation of Edward III and was a member of the small council which governed in his name. Soon afterwards, like Henry of Lancaster, he grew jealous of the overwhelming power of Isabella and Mortimer, and in 1328 both magnates refused to attend the parliament of Salisbury.³ In December of the same year the two earls summoned a meeting of their supporters in London, and Archbishop Symeon preached in St. Pauls against Isabella and Mortimer; those present entered a confederation against the king.⁴ Civil war seemed inevitable, but a reconciliation was brought about at the last moment. Some of the lesser rebels were executed and Mortimer determined to overthrow the earl of Kent. A rumour was set on foot that Edward II was still alive and in Corfe Castle. This was confirmed by a Dominican friar who claimed to have consulted the devil.⁵ Various letters were intercepted⁶ and it seems that the pope instructed Edmund to deliver Edward II from prison and restore him to the throne. Edmund was charged with treason at the parliament of Winchester; he confessed and entreated the king's pardon, standing in his shirt with a rope about his neck. He was condemned by his peers, most of whom stood in awe of Mortimer,⁷ but not by the Commons. The king was persuaded by Isabella and Mortimer that Edmund was plotting 'to shorten his life by poison' and so 'to inherit the kingdom as next heir'⁸ and Edmund was therefore taken

¹ Above p. 26 and p. 28 note 1, pls. XVIII and XV, c and d.

² *D.N.B.*, Edmund of Kent.

³ Adam of Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. E. M. Thompson, Rolls Series, xciii, 58.

⁴ *Annales Paulini*, ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series, lxxvi, 344.

⁵ *Chronicon de Lanercost*, Bannatyne Club, p. 265; Joshua Barnes, 'A History of that most victorious monarch,

Edward III', MDCLXXXVIII, gives a very full account of these events, pp. 38-42.

⁶ Adam of Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. Thompson, Rolls Series, xciii, 253-7 and 60.

⁷ Robert of Avesbury, *De Gestis Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii*, Rolls Series, xciii, 285.

⁸ Froissart, *Chronicles*, i, cap. xxiii.

without delay to a place outside the castle gates for execution. There he stood from dawn until the time of Vespers 'quia nemo voluit eum decollare, propter pietatem quam habebant de eo nam damnatus erat absque communi consensu'. At last *unus ribaldus sceleratus* was found in the Marshalsea prison who consented to strike the fatal blow and so save his own life.¹ Both Froissart² and Knighton³ bear witness to the unpopularity which the pitiful death of the earl, and the evident trickery by which he had been ensnared brought on Mortimer, while the king himself, who also learnt that Mortimer was the author of the charges against the earl, was stricken by remorse. In vain Isabella and Mortimer made excuses to the pope and to the people of England, but Henry of Lancaster, at last aroused to a sense of his own danger, was given almost universal support when he persuaded the young Edward III to take over the Government and act against Isabella and Mortimer. Less than nine months after Edmund's death Mortimer was hanged on the common gallows at Tyburn Elms, and Isabella was placed in enforced seclusion.⁴

The death of the earl of Kent, and the events to which it was the prelude, caused a great stir in the kingdom. As already shown, the manner of the earl's death tended to give him a popularity which he had not enjoyed during his life, for we find Knighton⁵ and the author of the *Chronicle of Melsa*⁶ speaking of his piety, and Froissart describing him as 'very wise and affable, and much beloved'.⁷

Adam of Murimuth, however, stresses the unpopularity which he incurred on account of the greediness of his retainers and their lawless behaviour.⁸ It is this aspect of his life which was apparently most evident in his dealings with the abbey of Peterborough, for when in 1319 he received the grant of the manors of Torpel and Upton to be held from the abbey, his retainers behaved in such a tyrannical way, and so ill treated the abbot's men, that the abbot petitioned parliament for redress. It was settled that the abbot was to pay fee farm rent to the earl and thus be free of his interference. Although the fee farm rent was far in excess of the real value of the manors, the Chapter consented in order to avoid future trouble.⁹ Later, Edmund's widow, Margaret, who inherited the manors after his death, demanded and received an even higher fee farm rent.¹⁰ It is clear, therefore, that Edmund cannot have been represented in the Longthorpe paintings on account of his personal popularity in the district. As far as it is possible to tell, moreover, the abbot and the monks of Peterborough were unfriendly to the Lancastrian cause,¹¹ and it is probable that the Thorpes had the same political sympathies as their overlord.¹²

¹ Henry of Knighton, *Chronicon*, Rolls Series, xcii, 452.

² Froissart, *Chronicles*, i, cap. xxiii.

³ *Chronicon*, Rolls Series, xcii, 452.

⁴ Tout, *Political History of England 1216-1399*, p. 207.

⁵ *Chronicon*, Rolls Series, xcii, 452.

⁶ *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ii, 359, Rolls Series, xliii.

⁷ *Chronicles*, i, cap. iii.

⁸ *Continuatio Chronicarum*, Rolls Series, xciii, 60. 'Dictus tamen comes eo minus a populo conquerabatur quod malam habuit familiam, res popularium cundo per patriam auctoritate propria occupantes et parum vel nihil solventes eisdem.'

⁹ *Chronicle of Walter Whytlesye*, ed. Joseph Sparke,

Scriptores Varii Historiae Anglicanae, pt. iii, p. 225.

¹⁰ *Victoria County History, Northants.* ii, 483.

¹¹ In 1321 the abbey sent a subsidy to help the king put down the insurrection of Earl Thomas: Sparke, *op. cit.* p. 218. Pytchley says that Earl Thomas 'behaved wickedly and disobediently' to the king. Henry Pytchley's *Book of Fees*, ed. Mellowes, Northants Record Soc. ii, 40. In enumerating the virtues of the abbot Adam, the continuator of Whytlesye's *Chronicle*, mentions the affection in which he was held by Edward II, Isabella, and Edward III. Sparke, *op. cit.* p. 232.

¹² Robert was created steward of the Liberties of Peterborough in 1330, above p. 7.

It seems probable that if the portrayal of the earl at Longthorpe has any significance other than that he was the most important of the abbey's tenants, this must be ascribed to the deliberate policy of the Lancastrian party which was in the ascendant after the death of Mortimer. As early as 1327 Edward III petitioned the pope to grant the canonization of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, the leader of the Lords Ordainers, who had been executed after the defeat of the baronial party by Edward II and the Despensers in 1322. Earl Thomas was popularly regarded as a champion of the people against the tyranny of the king and his favourites; miracles were said to be performed at his tomb at Pontefract, and he was beatified. The first petition for his canonization was made soon after Edward's coronation, while the government of the country was in the hands of a small council of which both Henry of Lancaster, the brother of the dead earl, and the earl of Kent were members. It was revived in 1330 and again in 1331 after the fall of Isabella and Mortimer.¹ It seems possible that a desire to show that the Lancastrian party was the champion of freedom in the struggle against Isabella and Mortimer may have led Edward's councillors to try and encourage the popularity of the earl of Kent, and to show him as a martyr. Both Margaret, the earl of Kent's widow, and her brother, the powerful Thomas Wake, lord of Bourne and of Cottingham Castle,² were prominent at the Court at this time, and no doubt their personal interest in perpetuating the memory of the earl would have been felt as well as the general question of policy. Both Margaret and Thomas Wake were influential in Northamptonshire, and both held land under the abbot of Peterborough.³ It seems possible that the painting of the earl of Kent may have been placed in the Great Chamber out of compliment to the king and the Lancastrian party on the occasion of one of the six royal visits to Peterborough between 1327 and 1337.⁴ An interesting parallel to the painting of the earl of Kent can be found in the painting of the martyrdom of Thomas of Lancaster at South Newington in Oxfordshire, which Professor Tristram thought was executed about 1330 as a votive offering for the success of the petition for Earl Thomas's canonization.⁵ In this wall-painting the actual martyrdom is shown, and is placed side by side with that of St. Thomas of Canterbury as if to suggest that, while the archbishop died for the liberties of the Church, the earl died for the liberties of the people. A much closer resemblance in composition is seen between the Longthorpe painting and the picture of an enthroned king and queen in the *De Nobilitatibus, Sapientibus et Prudentibus Regum* of Walter de Milemete, which was probably written for presentation to the young king during the last months of 1326 or the first months of 1327.⁶ It is noticeable that the arms of England and those of the earl of Kent on large shields of the same shape as those at Longthorpe are placed side by side in the lower margins of several pages of the manuscript.⁷ The manuscript, however, was executed when the earl was a member of the council soon after the

¹ E. W. Tristram, 'The Paintings at South Newington', *Burlington Magazine*, lxii, March 1932.

² I am indebted to Professor Powicke for this suggestion.

³ Thomas held one-third of the manor of Depyng of the abbot, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward III*, p. 483.

⁴ W. T. Mellows, 'The King's Lodging at Peter-

borough', *Annual Report of the Peterborough Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* 1932-3, p. 32.

⁵ 'The Paintings at South Newington', *Burlington Magazine* lxii, March 1932.

⁶ Oxford, Christ Church Library. Facsimile, (Ed. M. R. James), Roxburghe Club 1913, fo. 4b; pl. XIX, a.

⁷ Ibid. fo. 33, fo. 45, fo. 50, above, pp. 19, 25.

coronation. The similarity between the composition of the king and queen¹ in the manuscript and that of the two figures at Longthorpe would bear out the idea that this composition was executed by court painters rather than by those of the East Anglian School. It is much to be regretted that the old French inscription under the painting has perished, as this would have made the meaning clear.

Facing this painting with its representation of contemporary figures and coats of arms is the Nativity scene (pl. VIII, *b*). The composition is a straightforward illustration of the gospel story and, as shown above, is almost identical with that found in the group of psalters which are stylistically connected with Queen Mary's Psalter. The figures of David and the musicians (pls. VIII, *a* and XX), which decorate the vault, should probably be considered in relation to this Nativity scene, since both are subjects which, while Biblical in origin, are particularly characteristic of the psalter illustrations of the period. Mr. Rouse considers that the enthroned figure playing the psaltery was also probably crowned. It is unusual for more than one of the musicians to be crowned, but a parallel can be found in an early fourteenth-century psalter in the Bodleian (pl. XIII, *c*).² David and the musicians belongs to an ancient and widely diffused tradition of psalter illustration: it is especially associated with Psalm 1, but also sometimes occurs later in the psalter.³ The opening initials of English psalters of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century are usually decorated either with this subject, or with the Tree of Jesse. In Queen Mary's Psalter the Beatus page has a representation of the Nativity above, and a small figure of David playing the harp in the initial below (pl. IX).⁴ The position of the figure and the form of the harp give this picture of David some resemblance to that at Longthorpe.

Following these two paintings, which seem to have some affinity with psalter illustrations, are others which can be called didactic or moralizing. First there is the very much damaged representation of the symbols of the evangelists at the centre of the cross-vaulted ceiling. Far more impressive, however, is the series of large figures of apostles, arranged in pairs, which occupies the middle zone of the paintings on the north wall of the Great Chamber, and the upper zones of the north wall of the west window recess, both east and west walls of the north window recess (pl. VII), and the north wall of the east window recess. Each apostle bears a scroll on which is inscribed the clause which he is traditionally supposed to have contributed to the Apostles' Creed on the Day of Pentecost. The first two figures can be identified as St. Peter and St. Andrew by the symbols which they bear (pl. V, *c*). The next pair may be St. James Major and St. John (pl. XVI, *b*). In the fifth pair, on the face of the north wall, east of the window, the figure of a woman has been substituted for that of one of the apostles. She holds a scroll in one hand to which she points with the other. The inscription begins with the words ET IN ECCLESIAM CATHOLICAM (pl. X). No other example of the inclusion of a woman's figure in the apostle series has been traced. The figure must represent either the Blessed Virgin or Ecclesia. The Virgin was considered to have been present at Pentecost and is often shown with the apostles receiving the Holy

¹ Ibid. fo. 46; pl. XIX, *a*.

² MS. Douce, 131, fo. 68.

³ Haseloff, *Die Psalter illustration im 13. Jahrhundert*, 1938, p. 9.

⁴ B.M. Royal MS. 2 B. VIII, fo. 85.

Spirit,¹ but it has not been possible to trace any tradition that she took part in the compilation of the Creed; she is not mentioned in the sermon attributed to St. Augustine throughout the middle ages, which describes the drawing up of the Creed. The clause *Et Ecclesiam Catholicam* is given, in the sermon, to St. Matthew, but sometimes St. Simon bears the scroll with these words.² The figure at Longthorpe is nimbed but, unlike most representations of the Virgin, she is barefooted. If the figure is intended for Ecclesia it is most unusual for her to be uncrowned. Ecclesia is often represented; she usually appears in company with Synagoga, but in a group of English psalters she appears in company with Christ, or being crowned by Him.³ It seems quite possible that a figure of Ecclesia might carry the scroll with the words referring to the Holy Church, but again no other example has been found. The closest parallel would appear to be the series of very elaborate Creed pictures which is found in a group of Books of Hours illuminated for various members of the French nobility in the early fourteenth century.⁴ Each clause of the Creed is vouched for, not only by an apostle and a prophet but also by St. Paul, who can be seen expounding words from his epistles, which bear on the same subject, to groups of people, who are labelled *Romans*, *Corinthians*, etc. A pictorial illustration of the clause is given on a banner held by a figure of Ecclesia, who stands on a tower behind St. Paul. The fact that, at Longthorpe, a figure of St. Paul (pl. v, a) is placed opposite that of St. Peter, who is the first of the apostle figures, makes it possible that the designer of the Longthorpe paintings was familiar with some representation of the Creed subject in which subsidiary figures of St. Paul and Ecclesia were included.

In considering the general iconographic scheme of the wall-paintings it is interesting to find that the close association of the Nativity with the series of apostle figures can be found again in Queen Mary's Psalter where little figures of the apostles are placed in the upright sides of the architectural frame which surrounds the Nativity picture.⁵

It seems probable that the little scenes, which occupy the lower zones of the north wall of the west window recess are, like the Creed subject, didactic in intention. These scenes are very difficult to interpret. A slight resemblance can perhaps be found between the first of these scenes, the lady who is apparently conversing with a dove, and the central part of a very complicated moralizing picture which is prefixed to the De Quincy Apocalypse in Lambeth Palace Library.⁶ Here a lady is sitting and holding a shield with which she wards off arrows shot by the devil, which are labelled *les suggestions du diable*. Another inscription says, 'Par la Dame est signifié repentance'. Behind her is a dove with an inscription 'Par la columb li sapit esprit d. esp.' The lady thus represents repentance, and the dove love or trust. A lady holding a dove is found in *Somme le Roi* illustrations representing the virtue of *Amitié*.⁷ In the

¹ Peterborough Psalter, Brussels, Bib. Roy. 9961-2, fo. 93; Queen Mary's Psalter, B.M. Royal MS. 2 B. VII. fo. 297, etc.

² Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, p. 247.

³ G. Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert*, p. 101, pl. 2. Initials of Psalms 101 and 109.

⁴ Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, p. 247; *Book of Hours of Joan of Navarre*, Bréviaire de

Belleville, 'Les Grandes Heures' and 'Les Petites Heures' du Duc de Berry. The Bréviaire de Belleville was in England during the early part of the fourteenth century. B.M. Catalogue of the Royal MSS.

⁵ Pl. ix.

⁶ Reproduced by E. Saunders, *English Illumination*, ii, pl. 73.

⁷ B.M. Add. MS. 28162, fo. 6.

psalter of Robert de Lisle a figure of Prudentia who carries a dove and a dragon is placed at the foot of the Tree of Virtues.¹

The second of these small scenes shows a young man, or child, probably kneeling on one knee and with one hand raised, before a seated figure wearing a hood, which could be either a monk or a woman and who holds a scroll on which is inscribed (?NO(TR)E DAME N(O)US ASOUDRA DE LA PE. . . (pl. VI, a). Asoudre is the equivalent to the modern French Absoudre, to deliver or free from, and PE might stand for either Peine or Pêché.² The painting cannot be intended to represent the sacrament of confession or absolution as penitents are always shown kneeling humbly on both knees. Here it seems rather that the young man is joyfully learning of the good news of forgiveness.

In the third scene three young men are pressing forward to hear the words of an older bearded man who also holds a scroll (pl. VI, b). The only words of the inscription which can be deciphered are OREILLE and CUST. In Old French *Oreille* can be a verb and bear the same meaning as *Attendre* to hear. *Cust* is incomprehensible.³ Possibly the teacher is exhorting his pupils to listen to the teaching which he is expounding. Neither the figure of the monk in the second scene, or that of this teacher in the third, is nimbed, so they are unlikely to represent saints or apostles. Compositions in which teachers are expounding to their pupils are not uncommon in the middle ages, and it is probable that most of them are derived ultimately from figures of Grammatica as she appears on the north door of Chartres Cathedral, accompanied by Donatus or Priscian and with two small boys whom she overawes with a birch.⁴ One such picture is to be found in a curious treatise in which the dogmas of the Christian faith are set out in the form of a dialogue, 'Comme li peres enseigne et doctrine son enfant'. The picture shows a father seated in a high-backed chair teaching his son who sits meekly before him.⁵ Another curious painting which perhaps has some similarity to the scene with the monk and the child is on one of the early thirteenth-century panels of the painted ceiling of Peterborough Cathedral. Here a child is seated before a woman who holds what is probably a 'palmer' for administering correction to childish hands. There seems no connexion between this subject and others in the ceiling.⁶

The picture which has most resemblance to that at Longthorpe with the group of young men is prefixed to a chapter on the Pater Noster in the copy of the *Somme le Roi* in St. John's College, Cambridge.⁶ This manuscript is the only copy of this famous treatise known to have been produced in England. Its illustrations are different from the well-established cycle to be found in French manuscripts. In the Pater Noster picture a doctor, wearing a skull cap, a blue habit, and red gown, and who holds a birch, addresses a group of young men or boys, one of whom stands up and

¹ B.M. Arundel, MS. 83, fo. 129.

² I am indebted to Miss Chesney of Westfield College for these suggested interpretations of the Old French inscriptions.

³ Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII^{me} siècle en France*, p. 111.

⁴ Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 1136, fo. 33, reproduced by Langlois, *Vie en France au moyen âge*, iv, pl. v, p. 50.

See also Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS. 3142. Langlois, op. cit. ii, pl. XIII.

⁵ T. Borenius, 'The Painted Ceiling in the Nave of Peterborough Cathedral', *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii. 302, pl. xciii. 6.

⁶ MS. 256. M. R. James, *Catalogue of MSS. in St. John's College Library*, considered that this manuscript was produced at Peterborough, but this is questioned.

shows him a tablet on which a b c is written.¹ The explanation is found in the text which, according to the Middle English version, runs, 'Whan men setten first a child to lerne letture man techeth hym his pater noster. Who so wole lerne this clergie [knowledge or book-learning] hym bihoueth become meke and umble as a child. . . .'² It is tempting to think that one of the Longthorpe scenes represents either directly the learning of the Pater Noster, or indirectly the virtue of humility, but there is nothing in the inscriptions which would bear out this suggestion.³

Following after this group of paintings which seem to be didactic in intention, is a fine composition illustrating the moralizing poem of the 'Three Living and Three Dead'. This subject is placed on the south wall of the east window recess above the doorway leading to a small chamber in the thickness of the wall, and is continued on to the east wall. Two of the Living have unfortunately been damaged by the alteration of a window (pl. XII).

The subject is of great interest as it forms one of the rare cases in medieval art when a new pictorial formula is invented for the direct illustration of a literary text. It is found first in manuscripts, where it was originally attached to the poem which it illustrates, but the illustration soon became independent of the text, and is found in wall-painting as well as manuscripts. There are two almost contemporary versions of the poem, one by Baudoin de Condé, and the other by Nicholas de Marginal. In the first the Living are described as nobles and in the second as kings.⁴ The earliest illustrations are to be found in the psalter of Robert de Lisle (B.M. Arundel MS. 83) (pl. XIII, *a*) where it illustrates a much abbreviated version of the de Marginal text, and in a French manuscript (Arsénal No. 142) where the Condé poem is used as a basis for the illustration. Both manuscripts date from the end of the thirteenth century. The French version has usually been held to be the earlier,⁵ but, in 1929 Dr. Freyhan showed that there were good reasons for according this honour to the Arundel MS.⁶ The illustration in this manuscript depends closely on the words of the de Marginal text, but that in the other, while showing the Living as nobles according to the de Condé poem, has other features which can only have been founded on the other version, or, as Dr. Freyhan thinks, have been reproduced by an artist who has seen an illustration of the de Marginal poem. In both pictures the gestures of the figures are the same and interpret closely the words of the de Marginal poem. Thus, the first of the Living draws back, grasping his companion's hand in incredulity and terror, the second seems to accept the vision and understand its meaning, while the third, wringing his hands, laments the transience of earthly joys. Of the Dead, the first, who wears a tattered shroud, says,

¹ Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, ii, pl. 40b.

² Nelson Francis, *The Book of Virtues and Vices*, E.E.T.S., O.S. 217, 1942, p. 97.

³ This would accord well with the representation of the Creed above. The subjects are closely connected in *Somme le Roi*, *Sermons of John Waldeby*, etc. The parish priest had the duty of teaching the Pater Noster and the Creed to his parishioners. Nelson Francis, *op. cit.* Introduction, pp. 1-2.

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⁴ Meis, 'The Problem of Francesco Traini', *Art. Bul.* xv (1911), 123-6; Freyhan, 'English Influences on Parisian Painting about 1300', *Burl. Mag.* liv, June 1929, pp. 320-30.

⁵ Willy Stork, 'Bemerkungen zur französisch-englischen Miniaturmalerei um die Wende des XIII. Jahrhunderts', *Monatschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, iv.

⁶ 'English Influences on Parisian Painting about 1300', *Burl. Mag.* (1929), p. 320.

. . . damoyssel
 Ne ubliez pas pur sel oysel
 Ne pur vos robes a orfreis
 Que vous ne tiegnez bien les leys
 Que Jesu Christ ad ordine
 De sa seinte volunte

the second beats his breast in agony and utters the menacing words to the Living,

Verité est ke la mort
 nous ad fet tiels cum nous sumus
 Et vous purirez come nous sumus

while the third, whose hands hang dejectedly at his side, and who, unlike the others, is stark naked, declares that he was once the richest and most powerful of them all,

Ore su si hidous et si nuz
 Ke moy ver ne deigne nuls

At Longthorpe the figures do not adopt these gestures, so it appears that the painter was not closely acquainted with the words of the poem. Thus the first king raises his hand while conversing with the leader of the Dead, instead of withdrawing in horror, and the second probably placed his hand on the shoulder of his companion who was behind. Only in the way in which the hands of the third Dead king hang lifelessly by his side can a trace of the original arrangement be found, but here again the text is ignored as the figure is clearly being eaten by worms.

A number of other wall-paintings illustrating the subject of the Three Living and the Three Dead are known, two notable recent discoveries being at Peakirk (Northants) and Tarrant Crawford (Dorset). The latter is closer to the Arundel illustration than is the Longthorpe painting and is of about the same date.

The third group of scenes at Longthorpe consists of those which draw on the scientific and encyclopaedic knowledge of the middle ages for their subject-matter, and it is these which render the paintings so important iconographically. The subjects are the Twelve Labours of the Months (pls. II and IV), the Seven Ages of Man (pls. VII, VIII, XV *a*, and XVI, *b*), and the curious subject of a king rotating a wheel with five animals on the rim, which can almost certainly be identified as the Wheel of the Senses (pl. XVII). The representation of birds and animals which forms such an attractive part of the decorative scheme should also be included in this group (pls. III and VII).

The scholars of the middle ages were fascinated by number, partly on account of the symbolic meaning which could be read into numbers such as three, four, seven, eight, or twelve, and partly because classification and enumeration formed an essential basis for their system of thought and rendered possible the construction of diagrams by means of which knowledge and ideas of many different kinds could be correlated and rendered intelligible.¹ A large part of the knowledge of the natural world, and also of man's body and his physical life, which was current in the middle ages had been transmitted from the writings of classical philosophers through the medium of

¹ Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII^{me} siècle en France*, p. 17.

the encyclopaedists of the late Roman and early Medieval periods.¹ In the course of transmission this essentially practical knowledge became overlaid and blurred by a mass of allegorical explanation, but was still comprehensible and formed the basis of the unified conception of the place of man in the natural world, and his relation to God, which was formulated by the scholastic philosophers.² This great philosophic system was popularized by other lesser writers who produced books of excerpts for use in sermons or other works of instruction. Many of these books of excerpts were accompanied by pictures which were themselves rendered intelligible by means of numerous inscriptions. Of the three subjects at Longthorpe in which the influence of the encyclopaedic tradition can be traced, the Twelve Labours of the Months is by far the most commonly represented. It is pre-Christian in origin³ but its popularity increased during the middle ages because scholars, such as Vincent of Beauvais, taught that by means of labour man could begin the work of his own redemption, and overcome some of the evils brought about by the Fall.⁴ Artists found the subject, with its series of small scenes, ideally suitable for the decoration of doorways and arches.⁵ The Labours chosen to represent the different months were usually those of the peasants, although the joyousness of April and the Spring was sometimes expressed by representing a young man, or sometimes a king, holding flowers, and May as a nobleman hawking. At Longthorpe the January figure is holding a bowl of soup and warming himself at the fire, but the February figure, which unfortunately is imperfect, is already up and doing (pls. II and III, *a*). This is unusual as January figures are more often shown feasting, while the February figures are seen warming themselves. This peculiarity is seen again in the calendar pictures in the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels.⁶ The other figures at Longthorpe which can be distinguished are the March figure (pl. IV), who digs, the April one, who holds flowers, and December, who kills a pig. These conform to the usual type.

The second of these encyclopaedic subjects at Longthorpe is the Seven Ages of Man which is placed above the painted arch which frames the Nativity. The series begins on the west with the first Age, a baby in a cot with the word *Infans* inscribed beside it (pl. XVI, *b*). Next comes *Puer*, a boy with a whipping top (pl. VII), and above him is *Adolescens*, who is almost completely destroyed. At the apex is *Vir*, who stands full face with his feet apart, a hawk with the jesses fastened to its legs perches on his left wrist, and he has a lure, hood, and short perch or dagger (pl. VIII, *b*). The next figure is almost destroyed; he may also have had a bird on his wrist; it is possible he was a soldier as the scabbard of his sword hangs at his waist. The sixth figure, *Senectus*, is rather better preserved; he can be seen to be carrying a money bag, and is possibly looking backward over his shoulder; and, at the bottom, is *Decrepitus*, an old man in a hooded gown who supports himself on two crutches (pl. XV, *a*).

The idea of dividing Man's life into a succession of Ages originated in the Ancient

¹ F. Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v, 107 seq.

² Saxl, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-18; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

³ Webster, 'Labours of the Month', *Art Bulletin*, xxii.

⁴ Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII^{me} siècle en France*, pp. 85 seq.

⁵ e.g. for instance 'Sculpture at Malmesbury', 'Paintings at Hardham', 'Bernay', etc.

⁶ Brussels, Bib. Roy. MSS. 9961-2.

World;¹ the number varied, but gradually seven became usual. This seems to have suggested a connexion with the planets, and later, in Christian times, gave rise to the idea that each Age was especially liable to fall into one specific Deadly Sin. The iconography of the subject is very complicated. In the north it is seldom represented alone, but usually is combined with the Wheel of Fortune.² A representation which has some resemblances to that at Longthorpe is to be found in the Wheel of Life in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle, where, however, Man's life is divided into four major divisions and ten subdivisions. The figures which resemble Longthorpe are *Senectus*, who carries a money bag and looks back over his shoulder, and a small *Decrepitus* figure who leans on crutches but seems to be blind as he is led by a child (pl. XIII, b).

The scenes at Longthorpe do not conform closely to the Ages described in *As You Like It*,³ or in the mystery play called *The World and the Child*,⁴ which may have been the source on which Shakespeare drew. Thus, the fourth Age is to Shakespeare the Age of the soldier, but to the Longthorpe artist it is still an Age of Enjoyment, for the figure holds a hawk on his wrist and carries a lure and hood. The next figure may perhaps have been a soldier, but it is possible that he too carried a hawk.⁵ In the paintings this Age declines suddenly into Old Age, for the figure with his money bag may perhaps correspond to *Age* in the *World and the Child*, who exclaims . . .

My Life, my liking I have forlorn
My rent, my riches, it is y-go
Alas the day that I was born.⁶

While Decrepitus at Longthorpe is like Shakespeare's

. . . Last scene of all
That ends this strange eventful history
Is second childishness and mere oblivion
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.

In the third of the encyclopaedic subjects, which is to be seen in the lower zone of the east wall, the main subject is a king, who stands behind a five-spoked wheel which he apparently rotates by placing his left hand on one of the spokes (pl. XVII). Outside the rim, at the points where the spokes terminate, are five creatures: a spider in its web, a boar with pricked ears, a cock, a monkey who is about to eat something which he holds in his hand, and a large bird, probably an eagle or vulture. For a long time it seemed as if it would be impossible to find an explanation, as no representation of a similar subject could be discovered. The subject, moreover, was apparently con-

¹ Boll, *Die Lebensalter*, Leipzig & Berlin, 1913; Weinhold, *Glücksrad und Lebensrad*.

² Detached leaves of a psalter in the FitzWilliam Museum, Cambridge. Illuminated by Walter de Brailes. B.M. Arundel MS. 83, ii, fo. 95.

³ *As You Like It*, Act II, scene vii.

⁴ Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England*, p. xiii (Strassburg, 1898).

⁵ If this figure represents a soldier (he seems to have a scabbard at his waist), this might suggest a connexion with the planets; for the years between forty-two and

fifty-six, which follow the years of man's perfection, were held to be presided over by Mars. Boll, *Die Lebensalter*, Leipzig & Berlin, 1913.

⁶ Dodsley, *Old English Plays*, ed. Carew Hazlitt, i, 243 seq. The figure called Puer at Longthorpe corresponds to that in the mystery play. Here the boy whom *Mundus* names *Wanton* says

'I can many a quaint game
Lo my top I drive in same
See it turneth round.'

sidered to need explanation, for inscriptions had been written round the rim and on the spokes of the wheel. These were indecipherable. Eventually Professor Jansen, of the University of Washington, suggested that the creatures might be the Five Senses, and pointed out a passage in the *De Natura Rerum* by de Cantempré to provide authority. This passage has been most kindly transcribed by Professor Wormald from a copy of de Cantempré's treatise in the British Museum.¹

Omne animal vorans cibos sicut leo et lupus est macilenti corporis: quia ubi non est ciborum masticacio ibi male transeunt in ventrem. Graviore bestie omnes fruge vescuntur. Agiliores vero carone ut leones et lupi. Ante diluvium frugibus tamen homines vescebantur. Ergo secundum dictum sapientis fruge laborum homo tu hominum. Carne vescuntur leo predator. Et quis hic nisi princeps nobilis predo qui laboribus pauperum vivit. Homo in 5 sensibus superatur a multis Aquile et lince clarius cernunt. Symia subtilius gustat. Vultures sagacius odorantur, aranea citius tangunt. Liquidius audiunt talpe vel aper silvaticus. Unde versus

Nos aper auditu: linx visu symia gustu
Vultur odoratu precellit aranea tactu.²

It will be seen that four of the small animals on the Longthorpe Wheel agree with those described by de Cantempré. The substitution of the cock for the lynx is not surprising since the lynx was not a familiar animal in the middle ages³, while the cock was celebrated for his vigilance since he first discerns the coming of the dawn.⁴ The use of animals as symbols for the Senses was known to Ripa, and in the *Iconologia* he described various human figures accompanied by animals which could be used to symbolize the Senses treated either separately or all combined in one composition. The symbolism does not seem to have been fixed, for individual animals sometimes represent one sense and sometimes another. For instance, the monkey can be used for both touch and taste. Ripa quotes the same verse as de Cantempré and describes how all five Senses can be represented by a young man with a spider's web on his head, who is accompanied by a monkey, a vulture, a wild boar, and a lynx.

The subject of the Five Senses was occasionally depicted. The most famous example is the exquisite series of tapestries from the Loire district which is known as

¹ B.M. Royal MS. 1 F. vi, fos. 23, 23b. De Cantempré, born 1201, Canon of Augustinian house of Cantempré, near Cambrai. In 1232 he left this house and joined the Dominicans and studied science under Albert the Great. He states that he drew on the writings of Aristotle, Pliny, St. Basil, and St. Ambrose for *De Natura Rerum*. Auger, *Étude sur les mystiques des Pays-Bas*, Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux Arts de Belgique, Biographie Nationale, 1892.

² Every animal that gulps down its food, like the lion and the wolf, is lean of body because, when food is not chewed it does not pass easily into the belly. All the more ponderous beasts feed on fruits and herbs, the nimbler ones such as lions and wolves, on flesh. Before the Flood, men (although light and nimble) used to feed on fruits and herbs; well then, according to the philosopher, thou o man feedest on the fruits of men's labours; the lion, a

plunderer, feeds on flesh, and who is this plunderer, if not the nobleman who lives on the labours of the poor? In his five senses man is excelled by many creatures; eagles and lynxes have clearer vision, monkeys keener taste, vultures a more acute sense of smell, spiders a swifter touch, moles or the wild boar more sensitive hearing. Hence the lines

'The boar excels us in hearing, the lynx in sight, The monkey in taste, the vulture in smell, the spider in touch.' (Trans. kindly made by Rev. E. R. Micklem, with great diffidence.)

³ Richard Fournival repeats this passage but says that the lynx is 'uns petits vers (blans) ki voit parmi les parois', Hippeau, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, cap. 162, p. 190. The passage is correctly quoted by Konrad von Megenberg, *Buch der Natur*, ed. Pfeiffer, p. 118.

⁴ L. Charbonneau Lassay, *Bestiaire du Christ*.

La Dame à la Licorne, and which dates from the end of the fifteenth century. Mr. A. F. Kendrick pointed out the meaning of the series. The animals used are not those described by de Cantempré but agree with some described by Ripa, and also with some of those on an embroidered coverlet from Switzerland in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where the different Senses are labelled.¹ Another example, also recognized by Mr. Kendrick, is an English seventeenth-century embroidered box, also in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The subject was used by Jan Brueghel for an elaborate set of paintings, now in the Prado.²

These examples show that there need be little hesitation in accepting Professor Jansen's interpretation of the animals round the Wheel at Longthorpe; the meaning of the whole composition, however, is not fully explained. The wheel, as originally used in medieval art denotes change or progression, as in subjects such as the Wheel of Life and the Wheel of Fortune, but, by the end of the thirteenth century it had often come to be employed simply as a convenient diagram through the means of which a number of ideas could be shown in relation to each other. Several wheels of this kind can be seen in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle³ and also in the Canzone delle Virtù e delle Scienze of Bartolomeo de Bartoli.⁴ It is possible that the Longthorpe Wheel is simply a diagram to show the Five Senses, but the fact that the king actually rotates the wheel by placing his hand on one of the spokes seems to imply that he is somehow controlling them. The faculty which was considered to control the Senses was that of Reason, thus, in the *Somme le Roi* Friar Lorens says that Reason must act as 'trewe arbitour' between the soul and the flesh so that the 'soule be good lord and the body good serviaunt' especially 'Bihoveth to lede and gouverne wel the fyfe wittes of the body by resoun and bi evenhead, so that eche serve of his office with-oute synne and mystakyng'.⁵ Unfortunately this passage is not illustrated in any of the surviving manuscripts of the *Somme le Roi*, and the only representation of the Senses and Reason which it has been possible to find is in the fifteenth-century German encyclopaedia in the Biblioteca Casenatensis in Rome, which Professor Saxl re-animated with such affectionate care.⁶ This manuscript includes a considerable number of allegorical figures including one of *Anima Rationalis*⁷; it also devotes a whole page to the illustration of the main incidents described in the twelfth-century

¹ A. F. Kendrick, *La Dame à la Licorne*, Congrès d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris, 1921; *Actes du Congrès*, vol. ii., 2, p. 663. The little animals scattered about among the flowers and grass and also in the background may be compared with the animals at the side of the Wheel at Longthorpe. It is possible that the squirrel and dogs placed outside the Wheel at Longthorpe are alternative symbols for the senses, i.e. the squirrel for taste, one kind of hound which hunts by sight and another by scent. On the tapestry a parrot being fed with fruit is taste, and a monkey smelling a flower is smell. On the coverlet, taste is the monkey, hearing a boar, sight an eagle, and smell a dog.

² Fabrizio Clerici, *Allegorie dei Sensi di Jan Brueghel*.

³ An elaborate wheel diagram of the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer, the seven sacraments, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven 'arma virtutum spiritualia', seven

works of mercy, seven cardinal virtues, seven deadly sins, and the seven gifts of the body and the soul, is found in both the psalter fragments, in MS. Arundel 83, fo. 3^v and fo. 129^v. Also 'Rota altercationis oppositorum' (opposite qualities), fo. 4 and the Wheel of the Ten Ages of Man, fo. 126r (pl. xiii, b). Sometimes animals are combined with a wheel as in the satire of clerical vices in a German wood-cut. Schrieber 1959.

⁴ L. Dorez, *La Canzone delle Virtù*.

⁵ Nelson Francis, *Book of Vices and Virtues*, E.E.T.S., o.s. 1942, p. 153.

⁶ F. Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v, 1942, p. 82.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

poem by Alanus de Insulis, which is known as Anti-Claudianus.¹ The poem describes how Prudentia and Ratio set off together to journey to God's throne. Prudentia travels in a chariot which was built and decorated for her by the Seven Liberal Arts, and to which the Five Senses are harnessed as horses. Ratio acts as driver and controls the Senses. At the boundaries of the visible universe they meet Theologia who unharnesses the Senses, taking only Hearing as a mount on which Prudentia can ride forward to God's presence. Ratio and the other Senses turn back as they cannot penetrate farther towards the Divine Presence. In the illustration Ratio is masculine, and not feminine as in the text. He is dressed as a peasant and rides the horse called Gustus (pl. xxiv, a). It appears therefore that both Alanus and Lorens² regard Reason as the rightful guide for men during their earthly life and especially as the director and controller of the Senses, which, being implanted by God, are good and useful in themselves but dangerous to salvation if not controlled. This conception of the relationship between man's various faculties is that which was current in the early and central periods of the middle ages,³ but, towards the end of the period the attitude to the Senses hardens and becomes less humane. The fact that they are a gift from God is ignored, and they tend to be considered solely as a means of temptation. The state of warfare between Reason and the Senses is continuous.⁴

The theory that the king rotating the Wheel at Longthorpe is Reason is put forward with great diffidence. Only one other example of a wheel being rotated by a male figure is known. This is in the wall-paintings of the castle at Lichtenberg in the Tyrol,⁵ where a young courtier rotates a Wheel of Fortune. This subject is quite different from that at Longthorpe. In the Wheel of Life in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle, however, the important function of Reason in the governance of the Universe is expressed, for a Head of Christ is shown in the hub of the Wheel and this is surrounded by an inscription *Cuncta simul cerno, totum ratione guberno*⁶ (pl. xiii, b).

In this discussion of the subjects in the Longthorpe paintings which are probably drawn from scientific or encyclopaedic works, mention should be made of the various beasts and birds. As shown above, two animals are represented in the wall-paintings, one is clearly a bonacon and is very closely copied from a bestiary (pl. xx, a); the other may have been derived from the same source but is too indistinct to make identification possible.⁷ It is difficult to suggest why these two animals were chosen; the bonacon, which, when pursued by hunters was thought to shoot out the contents of its stomach in their faces in order to cover its escape, may be simply a rather impolite *drollerie*. On the other hand, the subject might perhaps bear some political meaning since, in the political satires and pseudo-prophetic writings, which form such a curious part of the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 106. C. S. Lewis, *Allegory of Love*, p. 99, Pat. Lat. ccx.

² Nelson Francis, *op. cit.* pp. 89-90.

³ e.g. In *Li Livres du Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, 'L'Amc a maint office et por chascun office est apelee par tel nom comme a celui office convient. . . . En ce que ele juge droitment est apelée Raison, et en ce que ele sent est apelée sens et en ce que ele a sapience est apelée entendement', *Li Livres de Trésor*, ed. Chabaille, 1863, pp. 21-23.

⁴ See especially Morality Play called *Nature* by Henry

Medwell. Brandl, *Quellen der weltlichen Dramas in England*, v. 80.

⁵ Schlosser, J. Van, 'Die Wandgemälde aus Schloss Lichtenberg in Tirol', *Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft*, Jahresgaben 1916. The scene forms part of a double composition—in the other half is seen the 'Frau Minne' (Love) with her Court.

⁶ B.M. MS. Arundel 83, fo. 126. J. Winter Jones, *Archaeologia* vol. 35, p. 165.

⁷ See above p. 22.

literature of the fourteenth century, the names of the contemporary characters to whom reference is made were often omitted and the names of animals substituted.¹ No example of the use of the *bonacon* in these writings has been discovered, and it is more probable that the animals at Longthorpe, like the birds, were chosen largely for decorative reasons. It is possible, however, that the designer of the paintings intended to introduce some reference to the natural world, as well as to the nature of man and his destiny on earth. Birds and beasts were often introduced into schemes of painted decoration, as, for instance, in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, and in the pope's private apartments at Avignon. Dr. Evans has also shown that the painted decoration of the rooms of the French nobility was sometimes copied from books of sport.² Either books of falconry or bestiaries could have provided models for the Longthorpe artists.³

The paintings which remain to be discussed are the two large subjects in the upper zones of the east (pl. xiv) and west (pl. iv) walls and the two seated figures in the lower zone of the west wall (pl. II). The compositions in the upper zone are so similar in arrangement that it seems possible that the subjects are related, either two incidents in a story being represented, or complementary or contrasting ideas illustrated. It is very much to be regretted that the inscriptions have perished for, in both paintings, the figures confront each other across a tall rectangular space which was entirely occupied by a long section of text (pls. xx, *a* and xxi). A few letters can be made out and, on the west wall, it is possible to conjecture a few words, but not enough to make sense. The presence of these long inscriptions shows that the paintings were intended to be closely studied, and suggests that the figures were not regarded as fully self-explanatory like those church wall-paintings which were meant to be understood by unlettered folk.

The composition on the west wall is the better preserved of the two (pl. iv). Here there is a bearded man at the south side who raises his hands in prayer before a vision of Christ, whose head and shoulders, surrounded in clouds, appears above, in the centre of the picture. The praying figure is dressed in a long yellowish cloak with a white lining, which is fastened by a morse and which has a hood which is pulled up over his head. He wears a long tunic underneath and is bare-footed. He carries a tau-headed staff, or crutch. Facing him, on the other side of the inscription, sits a young man who is busily engaged in making a basket, and who is using his mallet to force down the rushes or willow twigs which he is weaving between the upright supports. The figure wears a hooded tunic with sleeves cut off in a point at the elbows, and, rather surprisingly, he is seated on a cushion with elaborately tasselled corners. He wears shoes but his hair appears to be rough and unkempt. A third figure stands close behind this young man. Unfortunately this part of the painting is heavily damaged by plaster failures. The figure seems to be of a substantial build. He wears a belted tunic which reaches to his ankles. One hand is raised as if he is greeting the praying figure, and something, possibly a narrow scroll, hangs from this upraised hand. Behind the praying figure in the spandrel of the arch there are scroll-like trees with birds perching

¹ Wright, *Political Songs and Poems*, vol. ii, especially the 'Prophecies of John of Bridlington', pp. 123 seq. Also 'Prophecies of Joachim of Fiore'. There is also the purely decorative use of birds and animals which is so well

exemplified in the Psalters of the East Anglian School of the fourteenth century.

² Below p. 54.

³ Above p. 22.

in the branches, and rabbits are playing on the ground. The fact that this suggestion of landscape is included in the composition indicates that the scene took place in a wild or desert place, and that the praying figure and the young man represent a hermit and an anchorite. Elaborate compositions showing hermits living at peace with the wild animals were painted by Italian artists of the quattrocento,¹ and these pictures often include figures making baskets,² as basket-making was a craft which was especially associated with hermits, partly because they could easily find the necessary materials and partly because St. Paul the Hermit is recorded to have worn a garment woven from leaves. St. Anthony was regarded as the patron saint of basket-makers.³

It is tempting to suggest that the Longthorpe painting represents a scene from the life of St. Anthony since the praying figure carries the tau-headed staff, but no incident is recorded in which this famous saint saw a vision in circumstances such as those represented in the wall-painting. The life of St. Anthony is very well documented, for a comprehensive Life was drawn up for the abbey of St. Antoine de Viennois in 1426 which includes all the then known material.⁴ The manuscript is very fully illustrated. The only picture which has any similarity to that at Longthorpe shows the saint as a young man when he lived with an old hermit just outside the boundaries of his native village. At this time, as the caption says, 'He worked with his hands and what he received for his labour he gave to the poor.'⁵ The picture is in two parts; on one side St. Anthony, still in lay dress, stands meekly before the old hermit who is teaching him, on the other he is selling one of the baskets which he had apparently made, to a merchant, and straightway giving the money to a group of kneeling pilgrims or travellers. There is no similarity in the actual arrangement of the figures, but if some such scene were represented it might account for the fact that the young man is still in lay dress. If this young man, and not the praying figure, is intended for the saint,⁶ this might account for the presence of the tasselled cushion, since this incongruous feature may have been added out of reverence for the saint; the large standing figure, whose costume suggests that he is a merchant, might be the buyer of the baskets. This interpretation would give no explanation of the vision, and it perhaps seems more likely that the praying figure is St. Anthony and the young man an anchorite, perhaps of noble birth. Another suggestion is that the praying figure might represent St. Francis.⁷ This explanation would not account for the tau-headed staff or the stress placed on basket-making.

¹ Large painting of the Hermits in the Theban Desert in the Campo Santo at Pisa, and hermits in the landscape background of the Trionfo della Morte, also in the Campo Santo; painting attributed to Lorenzetti in the Uffizi, Schubring, *Cassoni*, pl. vi, no. 38. Cassone belonging to Lord Crawford, Schubring, pl. vi, no. 36, 37.

² An excellent representation of hermits making baskets is to be found in the painting of Augustinian hermits in the Church of S. Giovanni a Carbonari near Naples, by the Milanese artist Leonardo da Besozzo. Van Marle, *Schools of Italian Painting*, vii, 158.

³ Claude Champion, *L'Art et les saints*, p. 62.

⁴ *A Picture Book Life of St. Anthony*, ed. Rose Graham

for the Roxburghe Club, 1937.

⁵ *Ibid.* fo. ix^v.

⁶ The costume is very similar to that of the old hermit who instructed St. Anthony in the window given to the cathedral of Chartres by the Guild of Fishmongers. Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de Chartres*, pl. xxix.

⁷ The similarity between the Longthorpe figure and the figures of St. Francis in the Lutterell Psalter, and also to that of the wall-painting in the church of Wiston, Suffolk, must not be overlooked. B.M. Add. MS. 42130. fo. 60b. E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting*, ii, pl. 190. St. Francis is actually addressing the birds, a young brother sits in front of him reading. See also E. W. Tristram, *English Wall Painting, 14th Century*, p. 108.

The composition on the east wall is even more mysterious (pl. xiv). There are only two figures; and that to the north is almost completely destroyed. The only things which are certain are that he was striding forward as if to greet the young man opposite. The figure might have been a soldier since the tip of his scabbard can be seen against his leg. He does not seem to have been dressed in armour as the hem of a rather long tunic can be seen, and also he wore ordinary shoes. The young man who raises his right hand in greeting is dressed in an over-tunic with sleeves cut into a point at the elbow to show the tight sleeves of the garment below (pl. xv, b). The over-tunic has a hood and there is a deep pleat down the centre of the skirt to give freedom of movement. The figure carries his gloves and is accompanied by his dog. While his garments are exactly similar to those of the young basket-maker opposite, the elegant gloves, the dog, and especially the extreme neatness with which his carefully curled hair is arranged, suggest that this figure was worldly and pleasure-loving. It is possible that the two paintings are scenes from the life of the same saint, and represent the young man before and then after his conversion. If this is so the figures would seem to represent St. Francis rather than St. Anthony, for all accounts agree that St. Anthony led a simple and pious life since childhood. It may be that neither of these famous saints was intended, and that either or both paintings represent scenes from the life of an obscure or little-known hermit, even perhaps one of local fame, for tradition holds that a hermit lived by the holy well at Longthorpe itself. It has not been possible to find out any details of his life.¹ A further suggestion is that the paintings were intended to have a more general significance and that they represent the contrast between the worldly and the spiritual life. Figures with dogs or falcons are often shown to indicate the pleasures of the world;² hermits, on the other hand, because they abandoned the world altogether and devoted themselves to contemplation, were considered as the most perfect. Spiritual life, moreover, was held to have two aspects, *Vita Activa* and *Vita Contemplativa*. This was especially stressed in the life led by hermits as was well understood by Vasari. In describing the hermit scenes which form the background of the Trionfo della Morte in the Campo Santo at Pisa he says, 'Some reading and praying are all intent on contemplation and others are labouring in order to gain a livelihood and exercising themselves in various forms of action.'³

Both activities were regarded as essential to salvation, as is well illustrated by one of the stories from the Life of St. Anthony. One night the saint was praying in his cell and his mind was very troubled. He went outside and immediately saw an angel who first held up his hands in prayer, and then sat down and wove a basket, saying, 'This do and you shall be safe' (pl. xxiv, c).⁴ If these two scenes in the upper zones of the east and west walls represent the contrast between worldly and spiritual life it seems probable that some of the other scenes are logically connected. Thus, it is essentially to the worldly that the admonitions of Memento Mori, contained in the subject of the Three Living and the Three Dead are addressed, while a further

¹ *Victoria County History*, ii, 457.

² Fresco of the Marriage of St. Francis, Lower Church, Assisi. Trionfo della Morte. Campo Santo, Pisa (pl. xxv, b). Paintings in the Spanish Chapel Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.

³ Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (Orcagna), trans. G. de Vere, 1912-14, i, 190.

⁴ *Picture Book Life of St. Anthony*, ed. Rose Graham, Roxburghe Club, 1937, fo. xxviii.

warning against pride might well be intended by the peacock, which is painted below it.

A reminder that the Five Senses, which as Lorens says 'ben as fyfe conduits by which the delitable good of the world renneth into the herte' must be governed by Reason would be equally appropriate.¹ In the *Somme le Roi* Friar Lorens draws a contrast between the way in which the Worldly are terrified by death, and the Virtuous welcome it. He first gives a dramatic account of the lament of the 'Kings, erles, the princes and emperors' when they lie in torment,² and then speaks of the 'Holymen who run after the joys of Heaven like greyhounds' and for whom Death is but a narrow brook or thin wall through which, even while they still live on earth 'thei passen in thought and in desir.'³ No doubt the meaning of the paintings at Longthorpe was made clear by the long inscription; it is also possible that the hermit scene was further elucidated by the scrolls held by the figures who are represented in the lower zone (pl. II). Both are seated and have their hands raised as if engaged in discussion. Both wear rather elaborate lay garments of the first half of the fourteenth century and the one to the south has a hat made of folded material. They may be contemporary personages, perhaps one of them even may be a portrait of Robert Thorpe himself; on the other hand, they might be philosophers of the ancient world who are dressed in these garments to differentiate them from the Christian saints in the rest of the paintings. If the theme of the whole scheme of paintings on the side walls of the Great Chamber is the way to prepare for death, it is just possible that these figures might represent Seneca or Cato, for Lorens shows how 'Cato and other wise philosophers' in the ancient world, like St. Paul in the Christian era, taught men how to despise the world and prepare for death.⁴

The only example in the art of northern Europe of a similar putting together of a number of inter-related scenes which has come to light is one of the pictures in *Casenatensis*. Here a gorgeously dressed young man is seen standing in the branches of a tree. Death carrying a coffin is busy hacking at the trunk with an axe, while the Devil points to the open mouth of Hell which is ready to receive him when Death has done his work. The way of salvation, however, is still open, for in the branches, on one side Christ stands with the scourge and birch of penitence, and on the other an Angel who urges man to repent. The moral is represented again in the lower part of the page, for underneath is a representation of the Three Living and the Three Dead.⁵ The same lesson is taught in a far more dramatic manner in the *Trionfo della Morte* at Pisa.⁶ Here the contrast between the peaceful life of the hermits, who have nothing to fear in Life or Death, is contrasted with the dangers which threaten the worldly. Again a double warning is given for, on one side of the composition a great figure of Death with streaming hair and claw-like feet swoops down on a group of gaily dressed young noblemen and ladies who sit in a garden, making love, listening to music, and fondling their pets (pl. xxv, b). On the other side a cavalcade of ladies and

¹ Nelson Francis, *Book of Vices and Virtues*, E.E.T.S., 1942, p. 89.

² *Idem*, p. 74.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴ Nelson Francis, *Book of Vices and Virtues*, pp. 69-70.

⁵ F. Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v. 96, pl. 22 c.

⁶ The fresco was originally attributed to Orcagna but the ascription to Traini is now usually accepted.

noblemen, accompanied by huntsmen and hounds, comes suddenly on three open coffins containing corpses in varying stages of decomposition. The moral of this ghastly spectacle is pointed out by the hermit, St. Macarius, who descends from the hill behind (pl. xxv, a). The painter did not leave any doubt about the meaning of the various incidents for the figures carry scrolls on which are written rhymed inscriptions.¹ Further inscriptions are given to a series of Angels, who are represented half-length in the lower frame. The verse which is of particular interest in relation to the Longthorpe paintings is that which is placed on the scroll of the Angel immediately under the group of nobles and ladies in the garden, for this refers to the dangers of the Five Senses.

O anima perché non pensi
 Che morte ti torra quel vestimento
 In che tu senti corporal dilecto
 per in vertu de suoi cinque sensi
 Col quale haverai eternal tormento
 se qui io lassi con mortal dilecto?²

The similarity between the subject-matter of the Trionfo and that of the Longthorpe paintings makes the suggestion that a number of the scenes in the Great Chamber are interconnected appear quite probable. Even so, these scenes appear to have been separately conceived, and, if a connexion was intended, this must have been explained in the inscriptions. Besides these paintings which seem to point the contrast between the spiritual and the worldly life there are many others whose subjects are entirely different. It is much to be hoped that some specialist in the study of didactic literature of the fourteenth century may be able to show a source on which the whole series of paintings was founded, but no treatise of the kind has yet come to light. The only suggestion which it is at present possible to make is that the paintings should be accorded a place in the history of the encyclopaedic tradition in the middle ages, for it is in encyclopaedic manuscripts that a similar aggregation of pictures of different kinds can be found. Professor Saxl traced the development of these encyclopaedic collections in which, as he says, 'A wealth of wisdom is displayed, which slowly reveals itself to the patient reader who does not mind the absence of a well-defined general lay-out.'³ The genesis of the collection was the tree diagrams; to these were added, first the various diagrams such as the seven-fold wheel 'combining notions of different character but equal number'⁴ and then 'a group of diagrams with texts and allegorical drawings dealing with death and the vices'.⁵ The collections were further expanded by the addition of exempla taken from both pagan mythology and history as well as Christian stories,⁶ and, in some cases a compendium of the Anti-Claudianus,⁷ the history of Anti-Christ, the Apocalypse,⁸ and medical and astrological treatises.⁹ Lastly, the allegorical pictures with their long descriptions and explanations came to be included, it being this group which gives the manuscripts their essential character, and brings them into relation with the thought of the late middle ages.¹⁰

¹ S. Morpurgo, *Epigrafi in Rima del Camposanto di Pisa*, Arte ii, 1899, pp. 51-87. Only six of the original inscriptions survive but an almost contemporary manuscript was discovered in which the whole series had been copied.

² Morpurgo, *op. cit.*

³ Saxl 'A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v, p. 83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁶ Saxl, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

At Longthorpe the Twelve Labours of the Months, and the Seven Ages of Man belong to the group of number diagrams, the Creed subject is in line with the didactic teaching of the manuscripts, and the Three Living and the Three Dead is one of the most impressive pictures of what Professor Saxl called the 'macabre group'. The Wheel of the Senses seems to occupy a position between the diagrams and the allegorical pictures, since the king seems to represent the abstract quality of Reason, and the whole composition originally depended on texts and inscriptions for its explanation. The two large paintings on the side walls may have been illustrated exempla drawn from obscure stories and again needing explanatory inscriptions, or they may have been allegories which were not self-explanatory. Political allusions, such as that apparently to be found on the south wall at Longthorpe, also occur in the *Casenatensis*.¹ The fact that these subjects appear at Longthorpe side by side with the Nativity and David and the musicians, which are subjects especially characteristic of Psalter illustration, is important, for some of the earliest and finest diagrams and encyclopaedic illustrations are found in the two psalters which are bound together as MS. Arundel 83 in the British Museum. The first of these is usually considered to be of East Anglian origin, but the second, which is known as the Psalter of Robert de Lisle, is thought by Miss E. Saunders to be a production of the Court School.² This theory was endorsed recently by Professor Wormald,³ who pointed out the resemblances between some of the illustrations and the sedilia paintings at Westminster, which are thought to have been executed by Master Thomas of Durham, the son of the famous Master Walter.⁴

Considerable resemblances have already been pointed out between the representations of the Three Living and the Three Dead⁵ and the Ages of Man⁶ in this manuscript and those of the same subjects at Longthorpe, and there are also other diagrams which refer to subjects represented at Longthorpe such as a very elaborate representation of the drawing up of the Creed, as usual combined with the witness of the prophets, and a Tree combining the Seven Canonical Hours, the Seven Labours of the Passion, the Seven Last Words, and the Five Senses, with the addition of a 'Confesus', and Free Will. There are also two other Wheel diagrams. Both psalters include a profusion of other diagrams and pictures besides Psalter illustrations, and, in the case of the psalter of Robert de Lisle, elaborate and beautiful pictures of the Life of Christ. There are, however, no allegorical figures or exempla. Some purely stylistic resemblances have been shown above between the illuminations of this psalter and the Longthorpe paintings, but on the whole, the paintings are nearer in style to manuscripts of the early fourteenth century. One may perhaps conjecture that the artists who decorated the Great Chamber at Longthorpe had before them a psalter of a similar type but still further expanded to include some simple allegorical pictures.

In conclusion, it is interesting to compare the iconography of the Longthorpe paintings with that of other secular apartments both in England and on the Continent.

¹ F. Saxl, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

² E. Saunders, *English Illumination*, pp. 103-4; Millar considered both psalters to be East Anglian, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, ii, p. 4.

³ Lecture at the Courtauld Institute of Art, Nov. 13th,

1951.

⁴ Borenius and Tristram, *English Mediaeval Wall Painting*, p. 18.

⁵ Above, p. 41, pl. XIII a.

⁶ Above, p. 44, pl. XIII, b.

As already pointed out, almost no work of this kind has survived in England, but the painstaking researches of Professor Lethaby,¹ Professor Borenius,² Professor Tristram,³ and others, has brought to light a good deal of information. Secular wall-painting is also rare in France; Miss Joan Evans⁴ has recently brought together much interesting information about the subjects represented in the painted decoration of the palaces and castles of the royal family and the nobility. There are scattered examples in Germany and Austria, while more surviving examples are found farther south in Piedmont and the Tyrol. Italy is far richer in mural paintings of all kinds, but here painting followed a different tradition from that of northern Gothic art. In secular apartments in England the Wheel of Fortune seems to have been a favourite subject; it was represented in the King's Hall at Clarendon, and in the castle at Winchester.⁵ The Twelve Labours of the Months were represented in the Queen's Hall at Clarendon, and an Allegory of Winter in the Queen's Chamber at Westminster.⁶ Contemporary figures were sometimes shown, as, for instance, the heads of the kings and queens at Clarendon;⁷ the king and queen seated amid the assembled baronage at Dublin Castle,⁸ and the coronation, marriage, wars, and funeral of Edward I in the Bishop's Palace at Lichfield.⁹ In the wardrobe at Westminster was a curious scene of the king (Henry III) being saved from his rebellious subjects by faithful dogs.¹⁰ One contemporary scene is recorded in France, for, in the Palais du Séjour at Étampes, the donation of the barony of Étampes to Louis d'Évreux by Philippe de Bel in 1307 was painted on the walls of the hall.¹¹ These subjects may be compared to those on the south wall at Longthorpe. Animals and birds were frequently employed as part of the decoration; the series in the Painted Chamber at Westminster¹² must have been particularly impressive. A fine series still exists in the solar of the castle of Lochstadt in east Prussia.¹³ Maps were also sometimes used in the decoration as in the Painted Chamber at Westminster and in the castle at Winchester. Scenes of warfare and illustrations of Romances, however, were by far the most popular subjects. As Le Songe du Vergier says: 'Les Chevaliers de nostre temps font en leurs sales peindre batailles à pié et à cheval affin que par manière de vision ils preignent aulcune délectation en batailles ymaginatives.'¹⁴ Sometimes the battle scenes were drawn from the Old Testament or the Book of Maccabeus, as in the Painted Chamber at Westminster; sometimes from the stories of heroes such as Theseus,¹⁵ Julius Caesar,¹⁶ or Charlemagne,¹⁷ sometimes from the crusades,¹⁸ and sometimes from the stories of the exploits

¹ *Burl. Mag.*, vii, no. 28, 1905.

² 'The Cycle of Images in the Palaces and Castles of Henry III', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vi, 1943, p. 40.

³ *English Mediaeval Wall Painting*, vols. i and ii.

⁴ *Art in Mediaeval France*.

⁵ Borenius, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁹ C. Wall, *Mediaeval Wall Paintings*, p. 96.

¹⁰ Borenius, *op. cit.*, p. 46; but see D. J. A. Ross, 'A Lost painting in Henry III's Palace at Westminster', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xvi, 1960.

¹¹ Joan Evans, *Art in Mediaeval France*, p. 180.

¹² Borenius, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

¹³ The Castle of Lochstadt. W. Douglas Simpson, *Journal of Brit. Arch. Ass.* 1934, p. 267, also found in Papal Palace at Avignon and in Sala de Ragione at Padua, and at Lichtenberg. The duke of Normandy had his library painted with hunting scenes copied from his books.

¹⁴ Joan Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

¹⁵ Painted for Charles V at L'Hôtel du Saint-Pol, Joan Evans, *op. cit.* 180.

¹⁶ Painted for Duke of Normandy at Val du Ruel, Evans, *op. cit.*, 180.

¹⁷ Painted for Charles V at the Louvre, Joan Evans, *op. cit.*, 180.

¹⁸ Borenius, *op. cit.*, p. 45, painted at Clarendon.

of the owners of the castle or their ancestors.¹ The subjects illustrated which are founded on the Romances include the story of Alexander at Clarendon,² the Tristram Legend at Runkelstein,³ scenes founded on a poem written about 1200 narrating the exploits of King Laurin of the Tyrol at Lichtenberg,⁴ and illustrations of 'Le Jeu de Robin et Marion' at Hesdin.⁵ In the Romance of Guigmar a chamber is described as painted with Venus and the Art of Love from Ovid, while Chaucer speaks of a 'chambre peint, Ful of stories old and Divers'.⁶

In Piedmont and northern Italy the artists drew on rather more learned traditions, and a favourite subject was the Nine Worthies; this subject is also found surviving in the solar of Lochstadt. One of the most interesting schemes of decoration is that in the Castel Mantà near Saluzzo where the paintings illustrate a poem called 'Le Chevalier Errant' written by Tommaso III of Saluzzo which recounts how the Knight was guided by Dame Knowledge and came to the dwelling place of Dame Fortune, meeting on his way the Nine Worthies and the Nine Most Chaste Women.⁷ The scheme also includes a painting of the Fountain of Youth, a subject which Charles V, Philip the Good of Burgundy, and the Duke of Savoy also commissioned. This subject is represented again at Runkelstein. All these scenes have a touch of romantic unreality; stress is laid on elegant figures, gay costumes, and a display of heraldry, and often the action takes place in a charming landscape with rivers, hills, trees, and flowers. These flowery fields and forests were sometimes represented for their own sakes, as at the Hôtel du Saint-Pol⁸ where the long gallery was painted to look like a forest with fruit-trees and flowers amid the dark trees of the woods, and sometimes, as in the enchanting decoration of the Adlerturm in the Castel di Buonconsiglio at Trent, they provide the setting for the scenes of the Twelve Labours of the Months.⁹ In the private apartments of the popes at Avignon scenes of hunting and fishing are enacted in charming landscapes.¹⁰ Whatever the subject, these paintings in secular apartments on the Continent have an idyllic and unrealistic quality which renders them totally different from the rather austere treatment of the various scenes at Longthorpe; the subjects chosen for the decoration of the Great Chamber at Longthorpe, moreover, are mainly religious and treat chiefly of the course of man's life on earth and the Means of Salvation.¹¹ Were it not for the fact that the Great Chamber has a fireplace and a *garderobe*, it would be tempting to think that it was intended for a chapel or perhaps a library, since the library of the Premonstratensian abbey at Brandenburg was decorated with paintings of the Seven Liberal Arts and the Seven Mechanical Arts,¹² the

¹ For the countess of Artois at Hesdin. Joan Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

² Borenius, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

³ Schlosser, 'Die Wandgemälde aus Schloss Lichtenberg in Tirol', *Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, Jahresgaben* 1916, above p. 44.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Joan Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

⁶ The Dreame—quoted C. Wall, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁷ Van Marle, *Schools of Italian Painting*, vii, 266. See also the paintings in the castle of Fenis. *Ibid.*, p. 192 and in the Palazzo Trinci at Foligno. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁸ Joan Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

⁹ B. Kurth, *Jahrbuch des Kunst Institutes des K.K. Zentral-Kommission für Denkmäl*, v, 9, 1911.

¹⁰ Van Marle, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

¹¹ In subject-matter the Longthorpe paintings seem to have a distant kinship with some of the great cycles of Italian painting and sculpture although the scheme is not worked out logically or completely. These series are comprehensively discussed by J. von Schlosser, 'Giusto's Fresken in Padua und die Vorläufer der Stanza della Signatura', *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses*, Jahrbuch xvii, 13, 1896.

¹² Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

library of the monastery of Niederaltaich in Bavaria had stained glass windows in which Theology, Philosophy, and Medicine were represented,¹ the Library of Charles V in the Louvre had paintings of Law, Theology, Science, and History,² while in the windows of the abbey of St. Albans there were figures of Philosophy, Theology, Jurisprudence, Canon and Civil Law, and Medicine, accompanied by Gratian, Justinian, Hippocrates, and Galen.³

Our knowledge of secular wall-painting in England, however, is slight, and even that of ecclesiastical painting is fragmentary, and it is possible that the Longthorpe paintings are the only survivors from a large number of paintings in which sacred, didactic, and secular subjects were similarly combined. In Peterborough Cathedral itself there was a curious mingling of subjects. First there were paintings on the back of the sedilia, now destroyed, which Dr. M. R. James⁴ concluded were copied by the artists who illuminated the great Peterborough Psalter now in Brussels;⁵ next, there were paintings of the arms of the knights of the barony in the sanctuary,⁶ and finally, the great painted ceiling which still survives.

The late Professor Borenius read a most interesting paper before the Society on the subject of this ceiling,⁷ and showed the remarkable and seemingly incomprehensible assemblage of subjects which were chosen to fill the lozenges which form the basis of the design. These subjects include the Agnus Dei, some of the apostles, figures of unidentifiable kings, archbishops, and bishops, a large number of musicians, a few small subjects, one of which is rather like a scene at Longthorpe, a head of Janus, and a large number of fantastic beasts and monsters. It may well be that the somewhat unusual and unconventional tradition of decoration grew up and was fostered among Peterborough painters.

APPENDIX III

ALTERNATIVE READINGS OF MAIN TEXT ON WEST WALL

- (a) 1.
 2. ... I ... T ...
 3.
 4.
 5.
 6. EC ... I · R · : OHEM ...
 7. STI ... : ET : ORHNTOR(? R) :
 8. HT ... : ... IH ...
 9. H :
 10. IR(? N) ... : DOMINI : ET : DIX
 11. IT : ED ·
 12. WE · E (? R) · · (a running scroll ends the last line).

¹ Schlosser, *op. cit.* p. 83.

² Joan Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

³ Dodsworth and Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1682, pp. 181-4.

⁴ *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, ix.

⁵ Brussels, Bib. Roy. MS. 9961-2.

⁶ W. T. Mellows, 'The Knights of the Peterborough Barony', *Annual Report of the Peterborough N.H.S.*, 1925.

⁷ *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, 297.

THE only text at all similar is that given to David in the contrasted pairs of Apostles and Prophets (Old and New Testament types and anti-types), where in the Creed the equivalent to St. Andrew's verse '. . . et in Ihesum Christum, filium eius unicum dominum nostrum', is David's 'Dominus dixit ad me filius meus es tu' which has some similarities with the last three lines.

Single dots represent probable spaces for letters (one dot to each): Three vertical dots represent end of a word.

Reading by E. C. R.

(b) 1.
2.
3. GO S HLLLEU
4. G TT S:
5. CO M
6. E RI:QUEMDE:
7. SDI ST OPHRTEM:
8. HT · SHT
9. M : PI H:
10. IN · DOMINI : ET:DIX
11. IT : EI
12. WS . ER

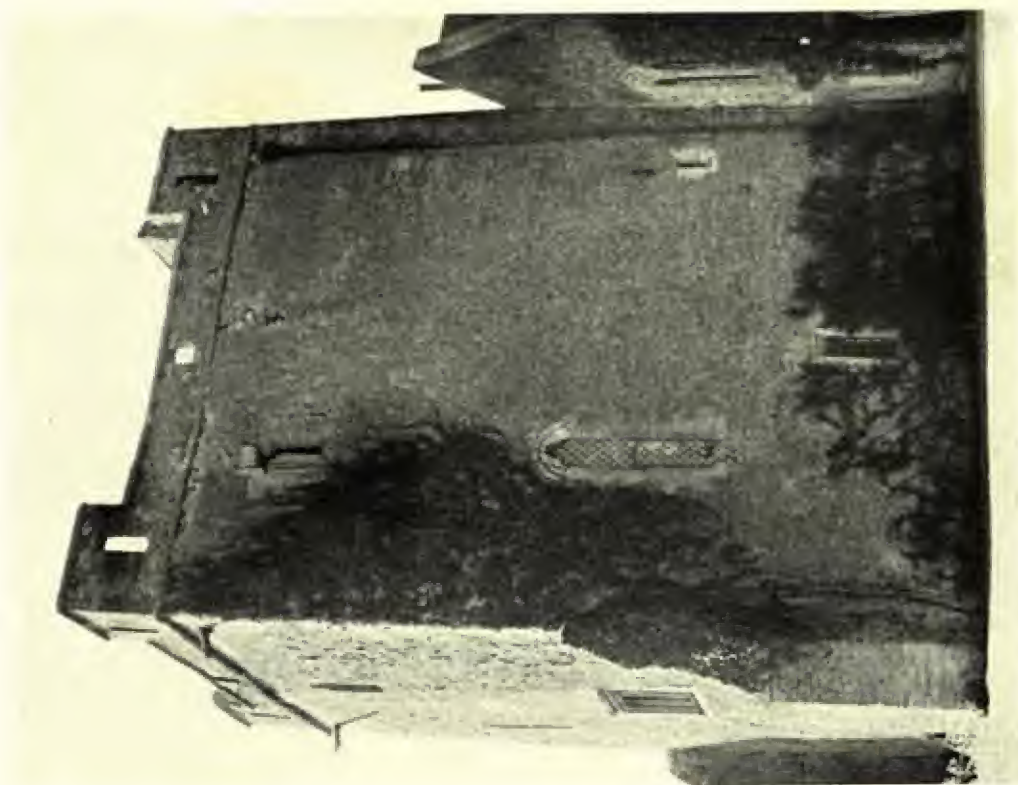
Reading by Sir Ellis H. Minns.

(c) 1.
2.
3. CO E S E
4. ET S
5. C TI I
6. E ·· QUEMD·
7. SC IST M HRTEM:
8. HT S:ET·S· rD
9. · d HT Q:
10. IPSIS:DOMINI:ET DIX
11. IT:DI C
12. ·S ER O I

Reading by W. H. Durst.



a. Longthorpe Tower from the north

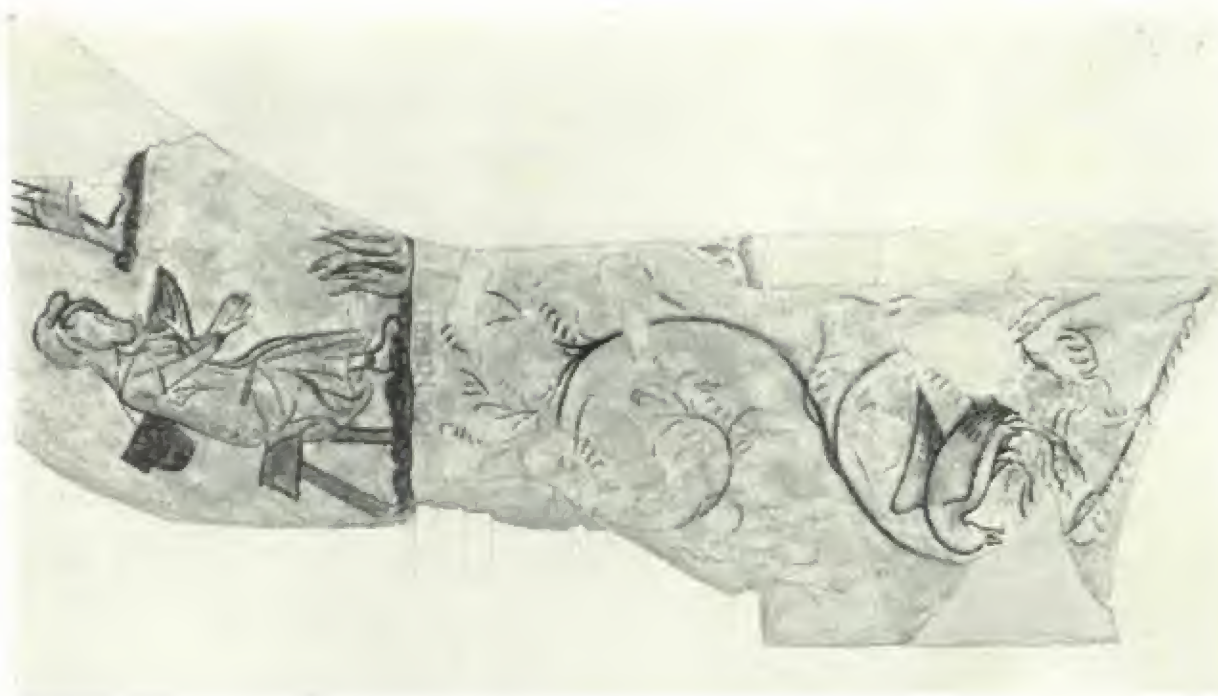


b. Longthorpe Tower from the north-west

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955



The Great Chamber: the west wall



a. West wall; detail of bird and scroll, and January in the Labours
of the Months



b. North-west corner of the Great Chamber; Apostles and birds

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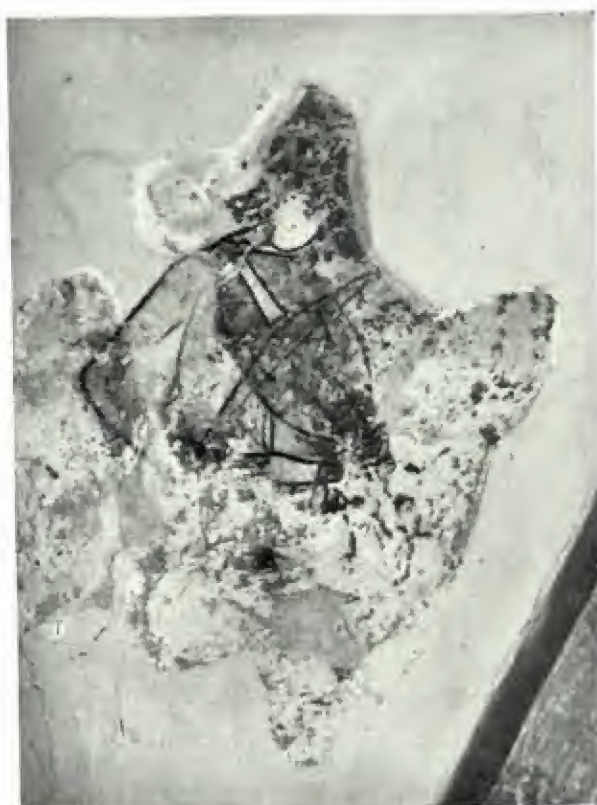


West wall: upper subject with hermit. Border and part of the Labours of the Months

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a. West window splay(s): St. Paul



b. Vault: Musician with viol or rebec



c. West window splay (N.): St. Peter and St. Andrew, commencement of the Apostles' Creed

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a. West window recess: didactic subject



b. East window recess: didactic subject



The Great Chamber: the north wall: Seven Ages of Man: the Nativity: part of the Apostles' Creed: birds and scrollwork



a. Vault: King David

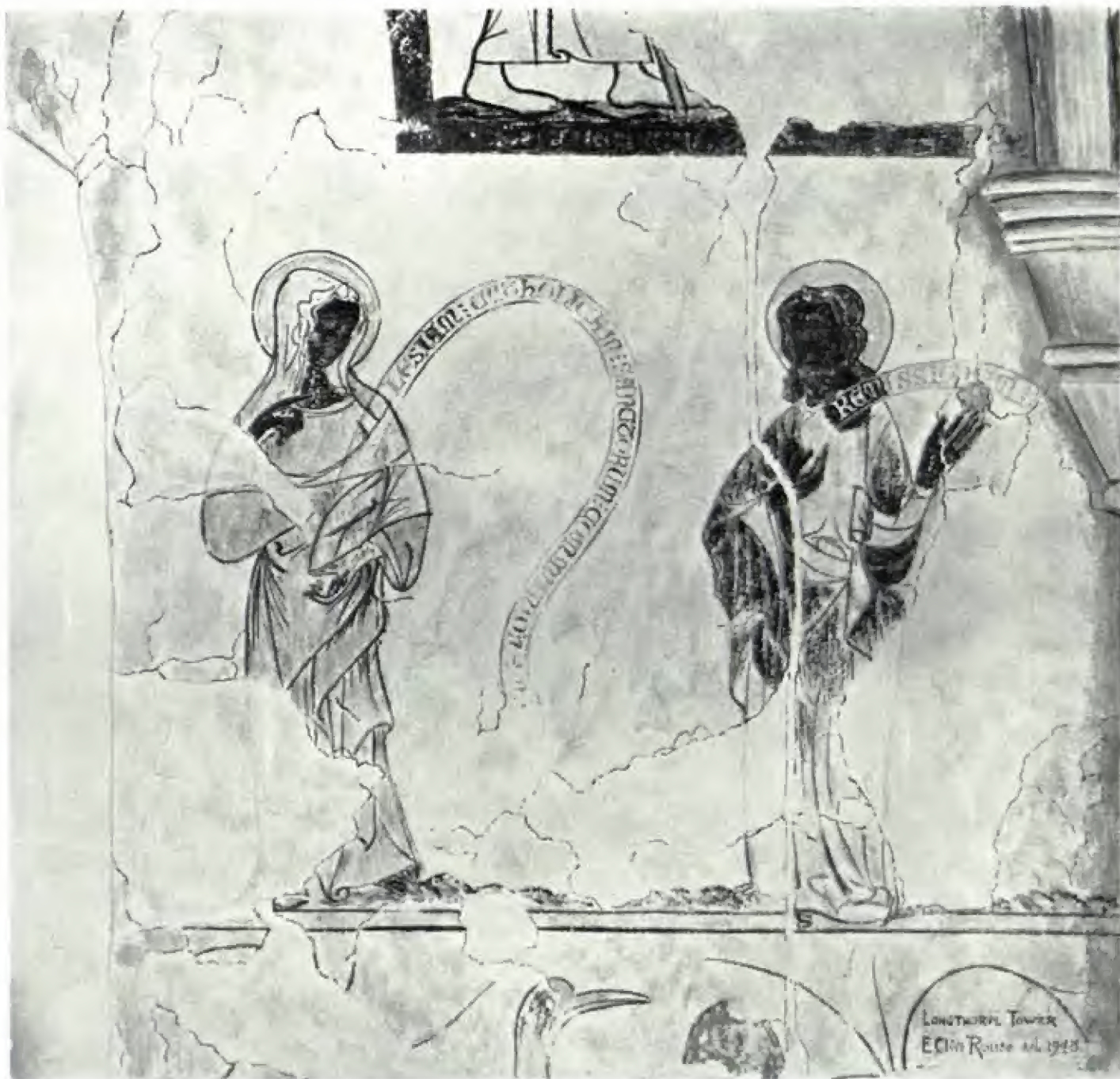


b. North wall: detail of Nativity and figures in the Seven Ages

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955



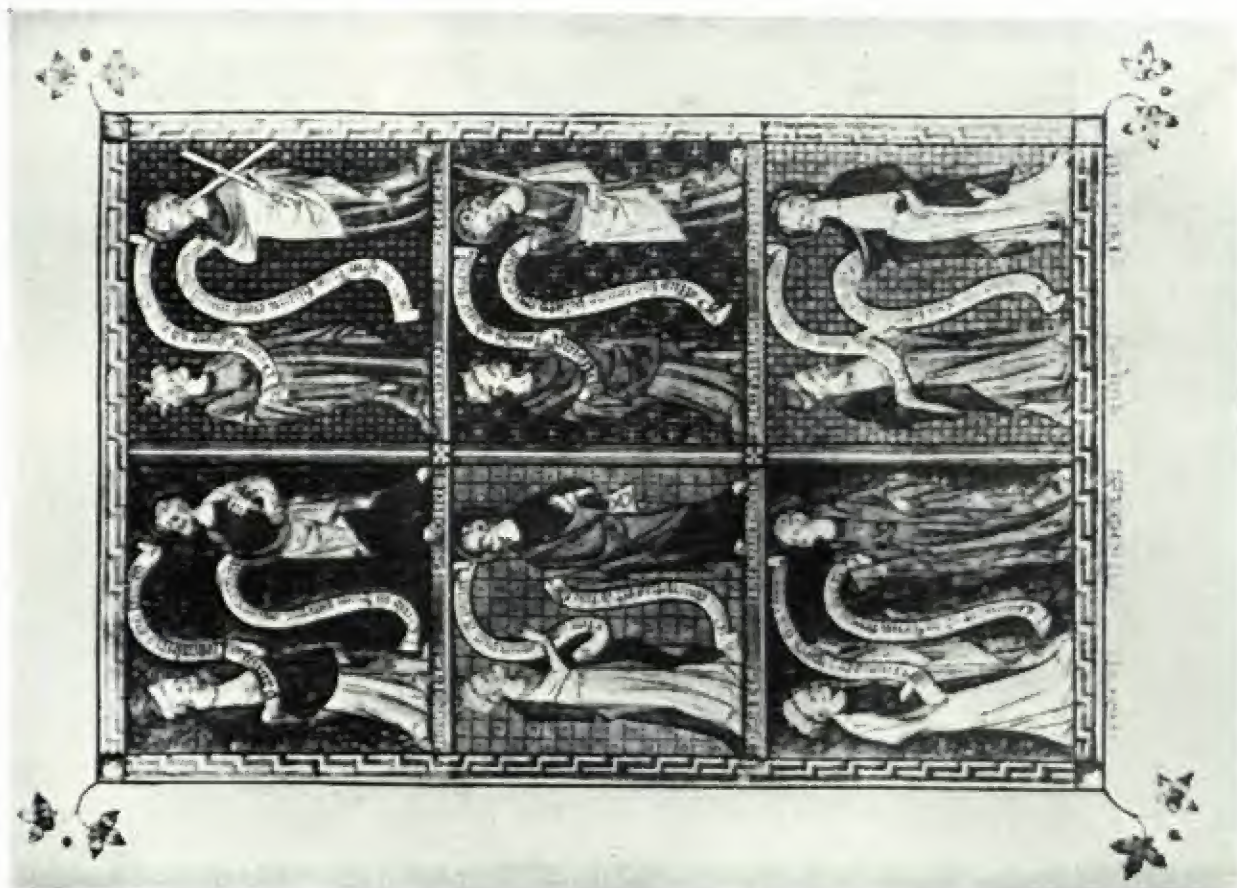
The Nativity from Queen Mary's Psalter B.M. Roy. MS. 2 B VII, fo. 85



North wall: figure of Ecclesia and an Apostle in the Creed series



a. Prophet and Apostle from Peterborough Psalter, C.C.C.C.
MS. 53, fo. 153a



b. Page of Prophets and Apostles from Queen Mary's Psalter, B.M. Roy. MS.
2 B VII, fo. 305v

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1953



Lindisfarne Gospels, E. 11v, 1947.

East window embrasure (E. and S. sides): the Three Living and the Three Dead

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955



a. The Three Living and the Three Dead from the Psalter of Robert de Lisle, B.M. MS. Arundel 83, fo. 127r



b. The Wheel of Life or Ages of Man from the Psalter of Robert de Lisle, B.M. MS. Arundel 83, fo. 95



c. Initial with King David and Musicians from Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS. Douce 131, fo. 68r



The Great Chamber: parts of the east and south walls



a. North wall: Decrepitus, in the Seven Ages



b. East wall: figure of a young man and a dog



c. South wall: throned figure (E. side),
? Edward III, or Edward II



d. South wall: shield with arms of England, and
fragment of inscription



a. East wall: detail of King behind Wheel of the Five Senses



b. North wall: details of Infans; two Apostles; and birds



East wall: The Wheel of the Five Senses



The Great Chamber: south wall and part of vault



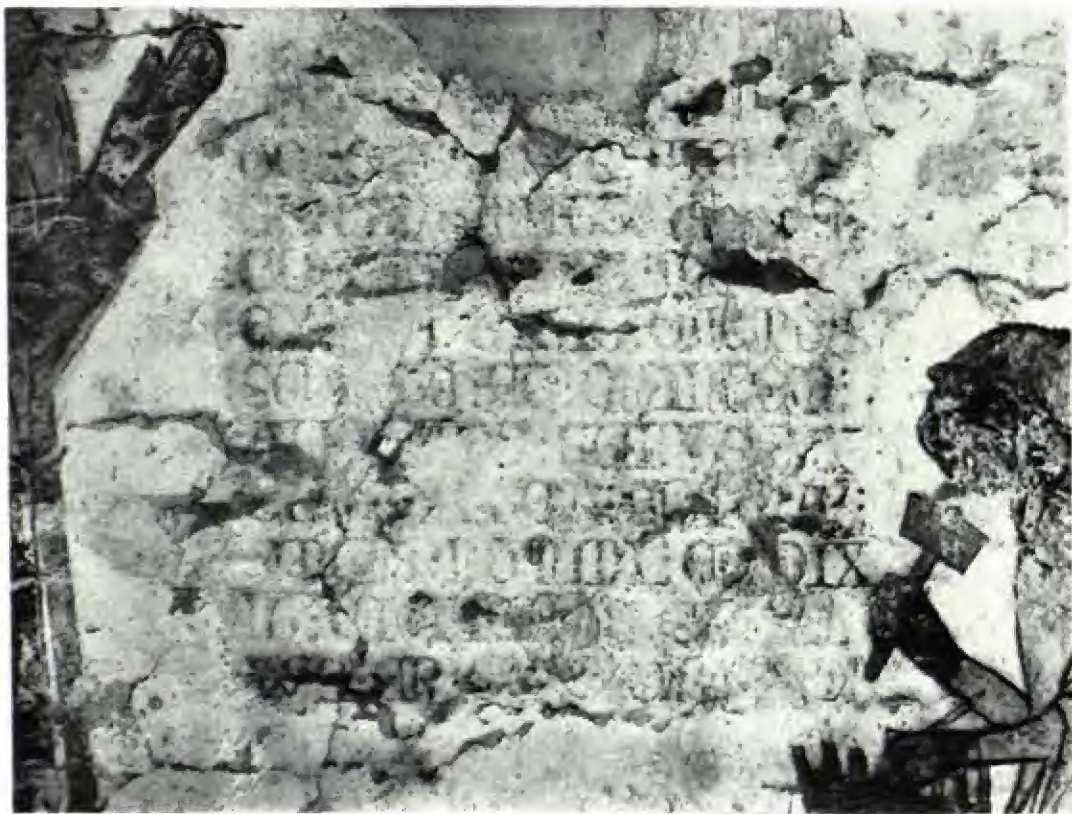
a. Page from the *De Nobilitatibus &c.* of Walter de Milemete, Oxford Ch. Ch. Lib. MS. fo. 4v



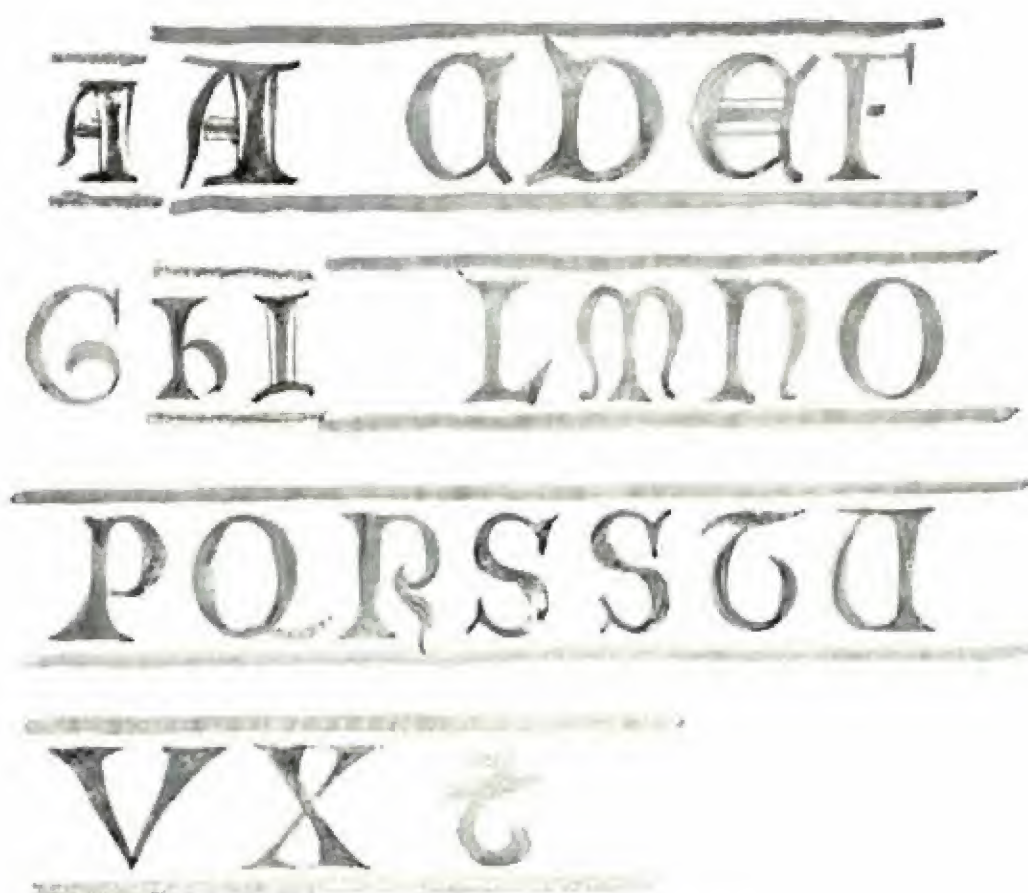
b. Crucifixion from Peterborough Psalter, C.C.C.C. MS. 53, fo. 15 b.



a. South wall: the Bonacon



b. West wall: detail of inscription, infra red photography



a. Alphabet from the Longthorpe scripts



b. Border at base of fo. 131 of the Ormesby Psalter; Oxford, Bodleian MS. Douce 366.



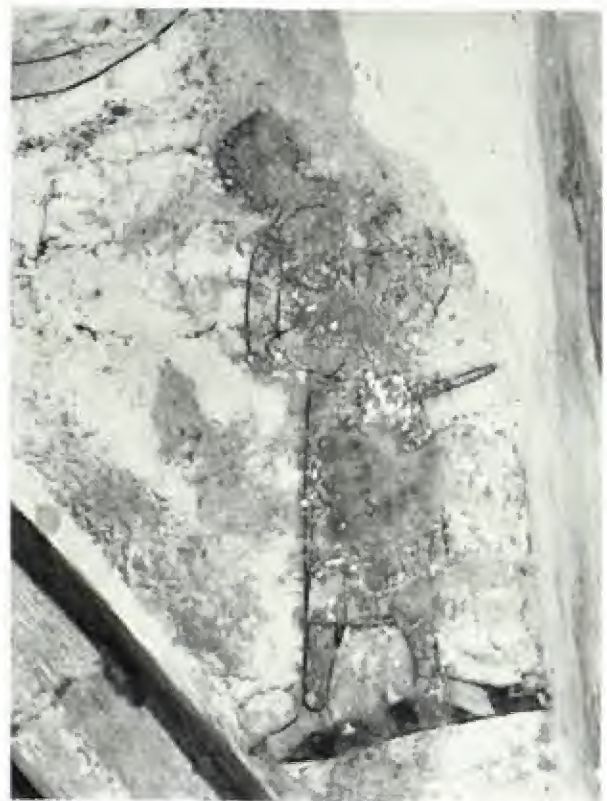
a. Bagpipes



b. Psaltery



c. Portative Organ



d. Viol or gittern

Musicians on the Vault

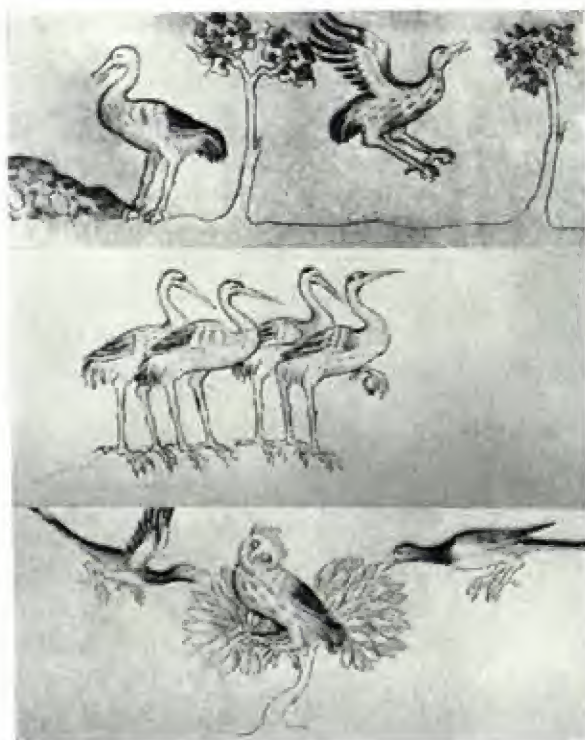
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Laudate eum.
 Exaltate dominum deum nostrum:
 et adorate in monte sancto eius: quo-
 niam sanctus dominus deus noster.
 Ublate deo omnis terra: seruite do-
 mino in letitia.
 Introite in conspectu eius: in exulta-
 tione.
 Scitote quoniam dominus ipse
 est deus: ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos.
 Populus eius et oves pascue eius
 introite portas eius in confessione
 atria eius in ymbris confitemini illi.
 Laudate nomen eius quoniam

Rex manus tua super virum dexte-
 rus: et super filium hominis quem con-
 firmasti tibi.
 Et non discedimus a te unificabis
 nos: et nomen tuum invocabimus.
 Domine deus virtutum conuertere nos:
 et ostende faciem tuam et salui erimus.
 Exultate deo adiutori
 nostro: iubilate deo
 iacob.
 Iamte psalterium et
 date tympanum: psalterium iocun-
 dum cum cythara.
 Buccinate in eo membra tuba: in in-



a. Prudentia riding behind the Five Senses driven by Ratio, from the Encyclopaedic MS. in the Bibl. Casanatense



b. Birds from the Bestiary section of Queen Mary's Psalter, B.M. Roy. MS. 2 B VII, fos. 113v, 123v, and 128v



c. Scene from the Life of St. Anthony, written for the Abbey of St. Antoine de Viennois



a



b

Details from the fresco of the *Trionfo della Morte*, in the Campo Santo, Pisa

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955

The Kells Crosier

By MÁIRE MAC DERMOTT, M.A., Ph.D.

[Read 26th February 1953]

INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

IN the year 1850, Cardinal Wiseman writing to Dr. Russell of Maynooth mentions an ancient crosier which had come into his possession. This is the first record of the shrine known variously as the Kells crosier or the crosier of Cúduilig and Mael-finnén, which now forms one of the most beautiful and most treasured exhibits in the British Museum collection of Irish Early Christian antiquities. In his letter¹ the cardinal describes how he had acquired this 'most valuable relic' at the auction of the belongings of a solicitor in London, the crosier evidently having been left in the chambers by a previous occupant, and asks for help in deciphering the inscription. Nothing whatever is known of the earlier history of the crosier or of when it was removed from Ireland. At the request of Dr. Russell, Petrie exhibited the crosier at a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy on 14th February 1851, and read a paper on it.² The shrine was at the time deposited on loan in the Academy museum. The next step in the modern history of the Kells crosier was its acquisition by the British Museum in 1859.

Early accounts of the shrine include a description by James O'Laverty³ and one by Margaret Stokes⁴ as well as those by Petrie already referred to. In more recent times short descriptions of the crosier are to be found in the *British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, London, 1923 and in *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, vol. ii, Dublin, 1941. The inscription on the shrine requests a prayer for Cúduilig and Mael-finnén, names which have been identified as those of two ecclesiastics of the monastery of Kells, and so it has come to be most commonly known as the Kells crosier.

The present paper is an attempt to put more fully on record this very striking example of Irish metalwork, by presenting a series of drawings and photographs and a more complete description than has been hitherto attempted. Some of the illustrations show early features of the shrine which were revealed when the crosier was dismantled for cleaning in the British Museum and which are completely hidden by subsequent alteration. The description of this portion of the shrine and of the general construction is based on notes taken by Sir Thomas Kendrick at the time of its dismantling, and passed on to Dr. Françoise Henry, together with the excellent drawings of the inner casing of the crook and the crest, which were done by Mr. C. O. Waterhouse of the British Museum. I should like at the outset to acknowledge my great indebtedness in this paper to Sir Thomas Kendrick's work. Dr. Henry added some notes and photographs and in turn passed on the files to me. I am most grateful

¹ Reproduced in Stokes, *Life of Petrie*, London, 1868, p. 293 and in Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, ii, 117, Dublin, 1872.

² *P.R.I.A.* v (1850-3), 82.

³ *U.J.A.* ix (1861), 51-56.

⁴ *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, 1887, pp. 84 and 92.

to her for the opportunity to work on this subject, and for her advice and encouragement. The work was done in the Department of Archaeology, University College, Dublin, and has benefited exceedingly from the guidance of Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, whom I wish to thank for much helpful discussion on it.

I should like to record my especial gratitude to Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford and to the staff of the Department of British Antiquities in the British Museum for their unfailing co-operation and courtesy, which made my visits to the museum so pleasant. I am particularly grateful for the opportunity given me to draw the ornamental details of the shrine. For the finished drawing of the collar-knop foliage pattern I should like to thank Mrs. Ó Ríordáin; the two diagrams fig. 1 and fig. 2 were prepared for publication by Dr. G. Gaidoni. I am grateful to the Administrator, National Museum of Ireland, and to the Keeper, Irish Antiquities Division, for opportunities to study comparative material in their care and for supplying various photographs here reproduced. All the photographs of the Kells crosier and of some other objects in the British Museum were done by the Photographic Department, British Museum, and are reproduced by permission of the Trustees. Lastly I am under deep obligation to the staff of the British Museum Science Laboratory whose researches in many fields have materially contributed to the understanding of the crosier.

DESCRIPTION

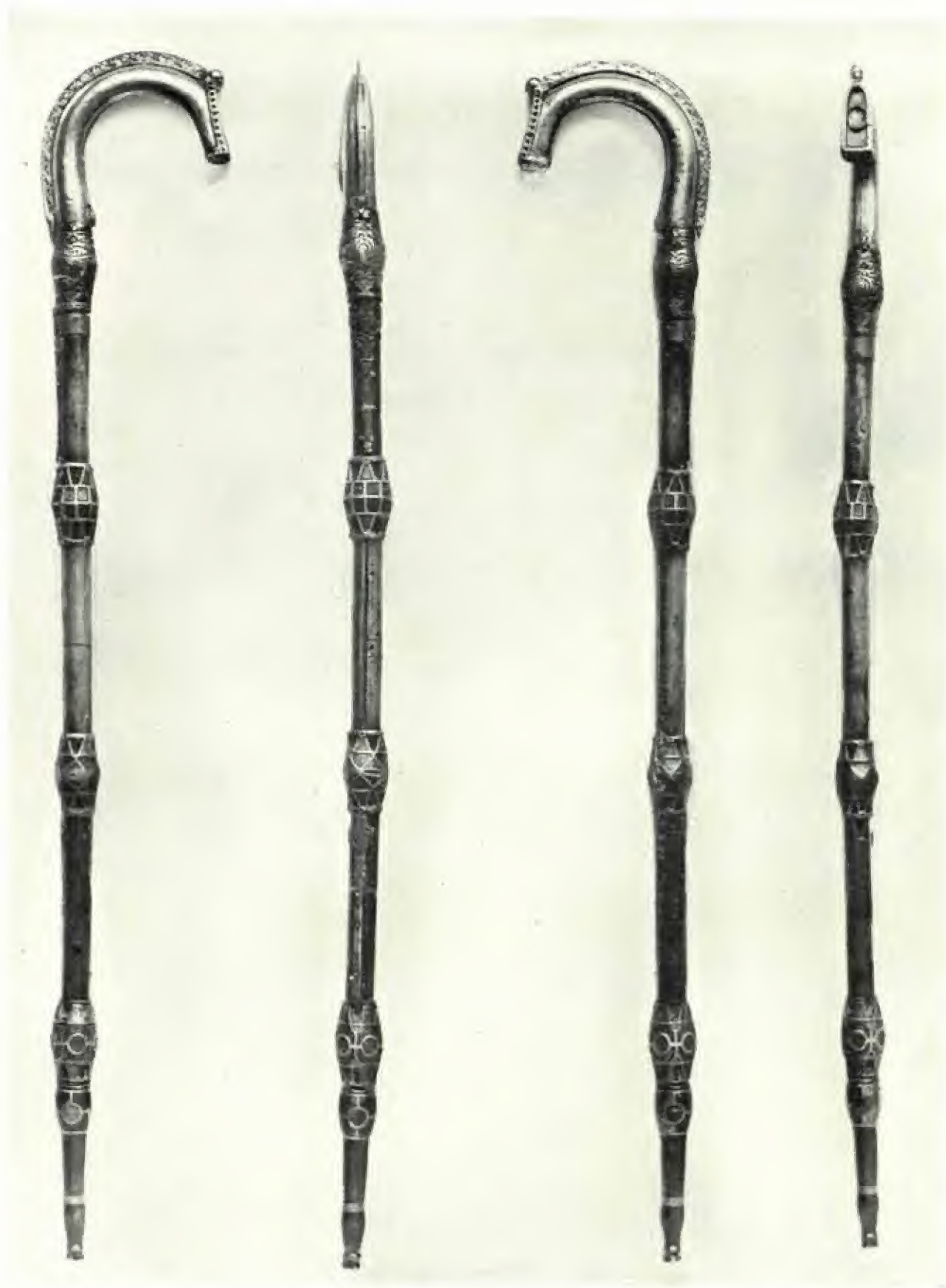
General

The crosier (pl. xxvi) at present consists of a yew staff of walking-stick type, enclosed in a metal casing of bronze and silver. The crook of the shrine has an outer casing of silver with an ornamental crest and reliquary box and an inscription affixed to its inner curve. Underneath this is a casing of bronze originally ornamented but now much defaced. The shaft has a bronze casing and four ornamental knops also of bronze but with traces remaining of the silver foil which once covered the panels of Knops 1, 2, and 3. Below the lowest knop is a bronze foot or ferrule with silver inlay and the whole shrine terminates in three little feet. The junctions of the bronze casing of the shaft between the knops were concealed by three ornamental bronze binding-strips in the form of crosses two of which remain. The total length of the shrine is 4 ft. 4 in. and the dimensions of the different parts may be seen on the diagram fig. 1.

The staff

The staff is exposed at the joints of the metal sheath for a length of 8 in. in the middle third of the shaft, on the outside. It is also visible in the spaces between the lowest row of triangles on Knop 2 and between the upper triangular panels of Knop 3, because the metal sheath which originally continued under all the knops has been moved or cut. It is cylindrical, $1\frac{5}{16}$ in. thick, and the yew¹ has a shiny, dark reddish-brown surface. The shaft is straight and the head is a simple and slightly tapering curved crook without a downward-turned end; on the inside of the spring of the curve there is a distinct kick or shoulder (fig. 2). The tip of the wooden crook can be seen

¹ Mr. Geoffrey Tandy of the British Museum (Natural History) has identified the wood, after a microscopic examination, as *Taxus baccata*, Linn., the common yew.



The Kells 'grosier': general view



Outer crook-casing and crest

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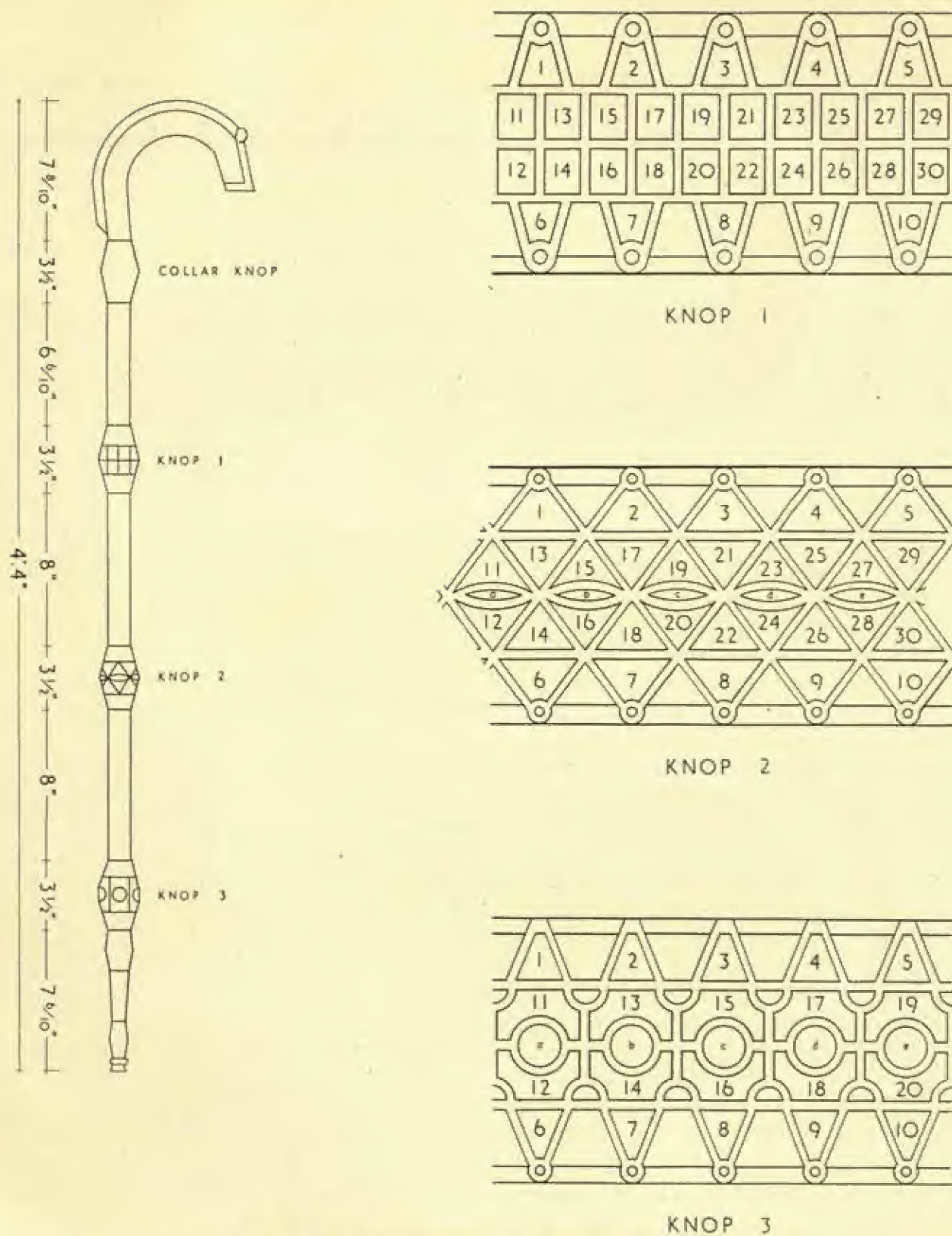


FIG. 1. Diagram showing dimensions of crosier and lay-out of shaft knops

through the opening in the face of the inner bronze box terminal but the end of the staff is not visible as the shaft passes beyond the lowest knop of the casing into the metal foot; its tapering end is seen on pl. XXVIII, *c*. Three inches below the crook-shoulder the staff is perforated by a cylindrical hole $\frac{1}{8}$ in. in diameter, and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. below this hole the shaft has been cut horizontally across so that the wooden crosier is now in two pieces which are held together by the collar-knop of the casing there being a gap of $\frac{1}{4}$ in. between them. The shaft above this gap has been cut for splicing and is also splintered and partly broken away; the head of the shaft below the gap has a hacked, sloping surface, and on the dexter side as now mounted (crook pointing to spectator) there is a splice-cut $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. long presenting a flat face $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. across sunk to a depth of $\frac{3}{8}$ in. and having a bevelled end. Extending over this sunken face and fixed to the staff below it is a thin iron plate that acted as a splice-fastening; it is $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. long and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide and was held in position by two stout iron rivets penetrating the full thickness of the staff. A similar plate-fastening with rivets secured the top of the splice at the level of the crook-shoulder. The slope of the splice shows that $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. of the spliced joint was removed when the staff was cut through. Since the foot of the staff is fixed immediately below the upper swollen portion of the bronze foot of the casing, the staff after splicing (including the missing $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.) must have had a length of about 3 ft. $11\frac{3}{4}$ in. The width across the crook from the tip to a point opposite the shoulder is 6 in.

THE SHRINE

The Crook

(A) *The Inner Casing*. Up to a point $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the end of the wooden crook and extending to a point just below the frilled bronze strip above the collar-knop, the staff is sheathed in two curved golden bronze¹ plates that are pinned down at joints running centrally on the inside and outside of the crook. There is a gap of about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. between the plates at these joints except for a length a little over an inch long, at the top of the crook where they fit closely, and there is a space of about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. between the sides of the plates and the wood. The outer surfaces of these plates have been filed down and one has been broken and repaired, while in each there are four small and irregular perforations. On one plate the original ornament is almost entirely defaced, only one or two markings representing the borders of panels surviving on the underneath, but the other face bears several only partly obliterated and variously shaped panels arranged in two rows, one on the inside and one on the outside of the curve, with a narrow and apparently unornamented space between them (fig. 3).

The remains of nine panels can be seen in the outer row of the curve and portions of eight panels remain on the inner. The two panels on the outside of the crook at the end nearest the collar-knop are the best preserved. The first is more or less L-shaped and contains an animal with lappet, spiral-joint, and intertwined legs, while the second is T-shaped and contains interlaced ornament; a panel with animal ornament (much defaced) follows this and there is a tiny fragment of another panel (pos-

¹ I am grateful to Dr. H. J. Plenderleith of the British Museum laboratory who has verified by analysis that the metal of this casing and of the terminal reliquary-box is bronze.

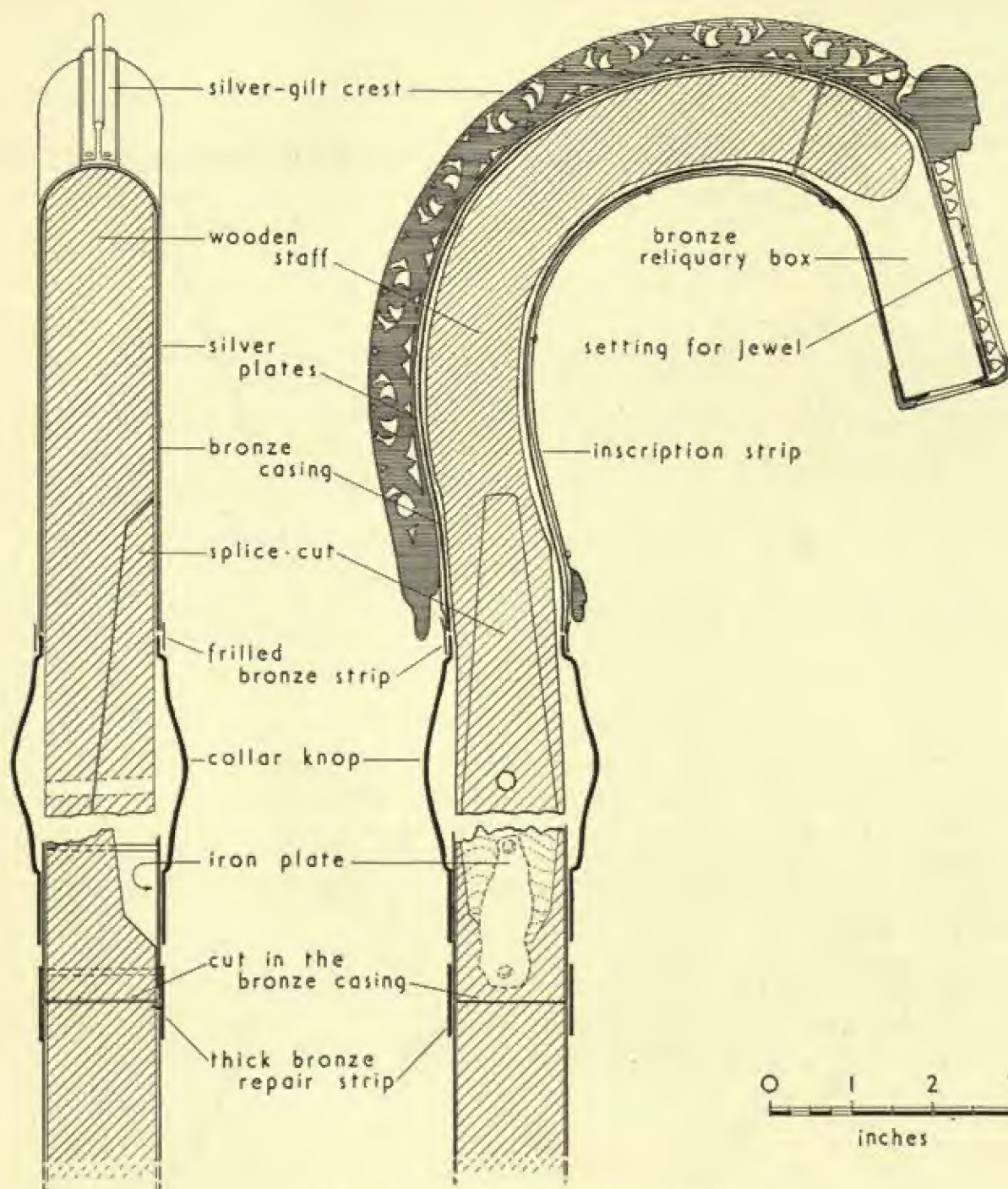


FIG. 2. Diagram showing structure of crook

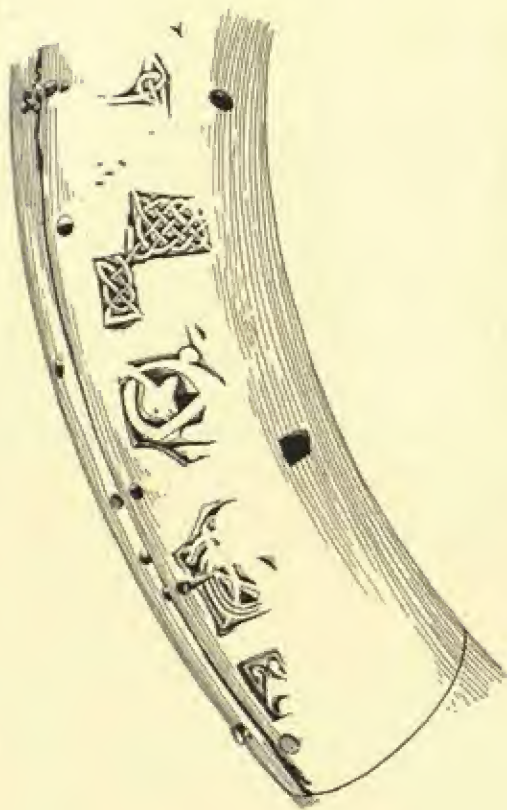
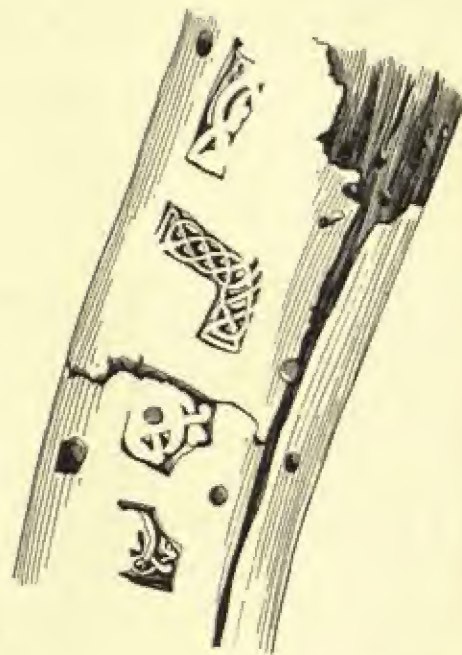


FIG. 3. Ornament of inner casing of crook (I)



a.



b.



c.

- a. Front of drop
- b. Under side of drop
- c. Foot and end of staff



The Inscription

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sibly animal) immediately beyond. After a space from which all the ornament has been removed another small fragment of ornament appears, followed by a T-shaped panel of interlacing and three other panels with animal ornament; this completes the top row. On the inside of the crook was a similar arrangement of panels; all those which remain contain fragments of animal ornament with the exception of two panels of interlacing opposite the interlaced patterns on the outer row, and one panel which contains a step-pattern design. A reconstruction of the panel arrangement shows that there must originally have been at least eleven panels on the inner and outer curve of this single plate of the crook; there was probably a similar scheme of ornament on the other plate. The irregular perforations referred to above all lie in the unornamented space between the two rows of ornamented panels and it is likely that they represent the attachment points for an original raised band dividing the ornament or for settings for studs.

About $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the tip of the wooden crosier the bronze sheath has been sawn neatly through and a separate box-terminal, of darker coloured bronze of another alloy, fixed on the crosier tip with its upper end fitting closely to the end of the sheath—the join may be seen in fig. 3. The terminal which is quite plain is a solid casting with a downward-turned arm that is open at the front and at the bottom. There is a raised and perforated flange on the head for the fastening of the outer terminal frame of the silver casing (B) and it seems clear that the bronze reliquary-box was added at the same time as this outer casing. The covered surface of the bronze is golden, smooth, and new-looking but a tiny portion with a worn dark patina is distinguishable on the edge of its open underneath end (pl. XXVIII, *b*).

(B) *The Outer Casing* (pl. XXVII). This is a cylindrical silver sheath, measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. across, in the form of a hook with straightened end. It is made of two curved strips of thin plate closely fitting against the inner bronze casing (A). On the outer edge these strips are held together by a silver-gilt openwork ornamental cresting $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high containing eleven and a half pairs of confronted birds with intertwined necks and heads turned away from one another; the adjacent pairs are connected by interlocked wings and tails (fig. 4). This crest terminates at the crosier neck in a snouted animal head with long ears and nostrils in the form of a spiral with foliate lappet; a rivet-hole runs vertically through the back of the head. At the straight end of the crook and fitting



Fig. 4. Details of crest and reliquary-box.

closely at the top into the cresting on the spine is an ornamental terminal frame of silver-gilt with a human head at the top of a narrow open front; most of the gilding has now disappeared from the head. This ornamental frame which is now in two pieces is bounded by an openwork wall of triangles containing alternately a triquetra and a scroll in gilt inlay (pl. XXVII and fig. 4). The top or front of this wall is grooved to contain a strip of niello inlay with zigzag pattern (pl. XXVIII, *a*); only small scraps of this inlay remain. At the bottom of the straight end of the crook the terminal panel has a large semi-circular opening with its straight edge bounded by an openwork row of three triangles, each containing a triquetra, and its flat curved edge ornamented by a clumsy pattern of incised gilt scrolls (pl. XXVIII, *b* and fig. 4). On a separate sunken plate of bronze which forms the door of the reliquary-box and which is now loose is a large oval setting for a gem (now empty). The setting is silver-gilt with an ornament of double rope pattern and a keyed edge now much damaged.

On the inside curve of the crook the plates of the silver sheath are bound together by a narrow strip of silver $\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide and $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. long ending in a human mask, partly gilt and with a nielloed moustache. The inscription—in Irish—on this strip is in incised letters with niello filling—OR[OIT] DO CONDUILIG OCUS DO MELFINNEN (pl. XXIX). Immediately after the close of the inscription the strip ends in a neat overlapping joint and is continued by another plain silver strip for a length of $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; this second strip has a torn end and is not continued down the straight end of the crook.

The Collar-knop (pl. xxx)

This is a stout yellow bronze tube with a bulging body that is prolonged into a cylindrical collar at the lower end, having four rivet-holes in slightly projecting circular settings in its edge. There is a plain, narrow flange at the upper end of the knop that is pierced by holes; this corresponds to a similar narrow flange immediately below the body of the knop and above the collar portion. The total length is $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. and the greatest width is $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. The body is entirely covered with a heavily chased ribbon ornament, consisting of two spirals united by triangular panels¹ and branching above and below into intertwined foliate sprays. The ribbons and sprays forming this pattern are broad bands with niello filling and a central wavy line of silver wire (fig. 5). The four triangles flanking the spirals contain animal ornament worked in bronze (fig. 6) the design in one panel being repeated in that diagonally opposite to it. The spaces between the terminal leaves of the sprays contain smaller (approximately lozenge-shaped) panels of interlaced ornament. Of these there are four above and four below and six different designs are represented. The cylindrical collar has four panels with stepped niello-filled borders, each containing an animal design, the design in one panel being repeated (with very slight alterations) in that opposite to it. The wavy silver line is omitted in the borders of these panels but is present in the marginal band at the end of the collar.

The collar-knop is used as a clamp to hold together the two separated pieces of the staff, which are fixed with a gap of $\frac{1}{4}$ in. between them (fig. 2). At the top the knop is

¹ The triangles are wings projecting from the circumference of the outer edge of the spirals and not expansions of its outside end; they do not therefore make a true trumpet-pattern.

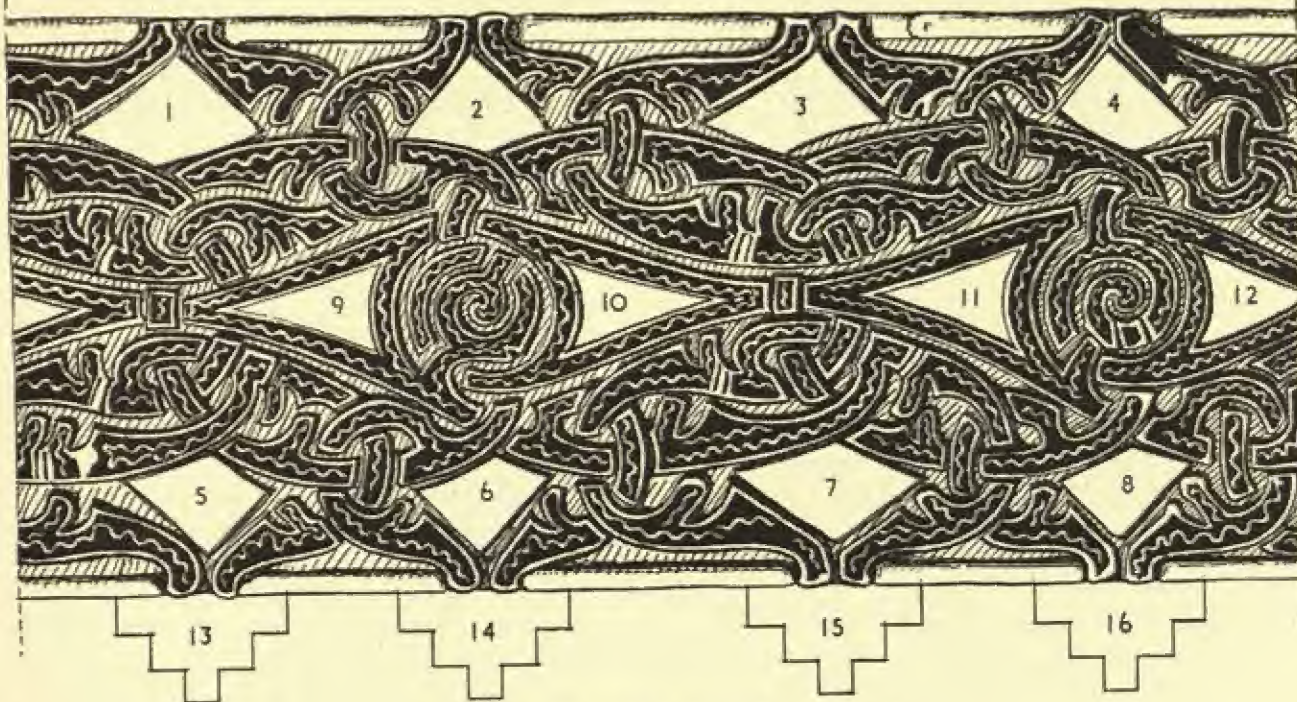


FIG. 5. Foliate pattern from collar-knop (I)

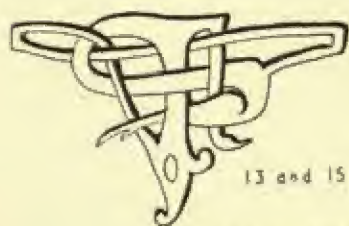
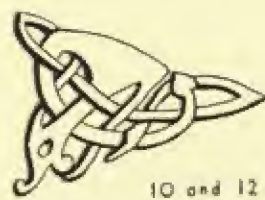
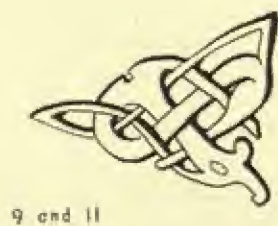


FIG. 6. Animal patterns from collar-knop (I)

fitted over the ragged end of the inner bronze casing and the silver plates of the outer casing were soldered to its rim; the joint was then concealed by a thin strip of bronze $\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide with a frilled upper edge, which is fastened by rivets. At the lower end the collar-knop is also fitted over the inner bronze casing of the staff and pinned to the $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. long section of it that covers the lower end of the splice and that had been detached by cutting from the casing below it. The severed ends of this inner casing are $\frac{3}{4}$ in. below the collar-knop and are held together by a thick reddish or coppery bronze band $\frac{7}{8}$ in. wide which does not completely encircle the staff but leaves a gap for the cruciform binding-strip of the casing; the ends of this bronze band are notched to accommodate the expanded ends of the crosses. The detached piece of the inner bronze casing, now held by the thick red bronze band, is undoubtedly the original continuation of the casing. It has been unevenly cut through at its upper end at the same height as the cutting through the wooden staff.

The Shaft casing

(a) *Casing.* The shaft is sheathed in bronze plates of the same alloy as the plates of the inner casing of the crook. The plates of the stem, however, are single sheets beaten into tubes that fit closely round the wooden staff though they leave a gap of $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ in. between the ends at the back¹ of the staff. This gap was concealed by bronze binding-strips, of which two remain and also by the three knops. The casing was made in one piece for the length of shaft between the collar-knop and the central knop (Knop 2) of the stem; and this section (including the detached fragment now covering the splice) measures $21\frac{1}{2}$ in. The sheath extends a little over half-way under Knop 2 and then there is a gap of about $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. before the next sheath $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. long commences, immediately below the knop. This second sheath encases the staff between Knops 2 and 3 and stops $\frac{1}{4}$ in. below the upper border of Knop 3. An examination of this sheath makes it quite clear that in its original position it fitted under the lower portion of Knop 2 concealing the wooden staff; the original rivet-holes and the track of the lower panels of Knop 2 are visible on the upper part of the sheath (pl. xxxiii). The lower binding-strip which when complete probably had an upper panel above the cross, was also in a different position which can be clearly seen on the sheath from the rivet-holes and the impression of the cross wheel. It is likely that the second sheet was originally long enough to continue under Knop 3 and conceal the wood of the staff or else that a third sheet of bronze, now missing, served this purpose. A series of small rivet-holes, running outside the edge of the binding-strips, and smaller than those used for securing these strips, shows that the bronze casing was at some time or other sheathed in an outer casing—perhaps of silver. In the middle section of the staff this presumably covered the scar of the missing binding-strip, as one of the small pin-holes is in the area originally occupied by the cross.

(b) *Upper Binding-strip.* The upper binding-strip (pl. xxxi, a) is $6\frac{9}{16}$ in. long and is in the form of a ringed cross with a long tapering shaft. The top section has been filed through just beyond its two projecting rivet-holes and is perforated by a rivet through the central panel at the edge thus formed; this panel which narrows towards the top

¹ The front being the side of the crosier-tip.



Details of collar-knop (almost $\frac{2}{3}$)



a. Upper binding-strip (I)



b. Lower binding-strip (I)

contains interlaced ornament consisting of a simple angular knotted pattern. A narrow toothed bar in a sunken field separates this from the cross itself which contains in its

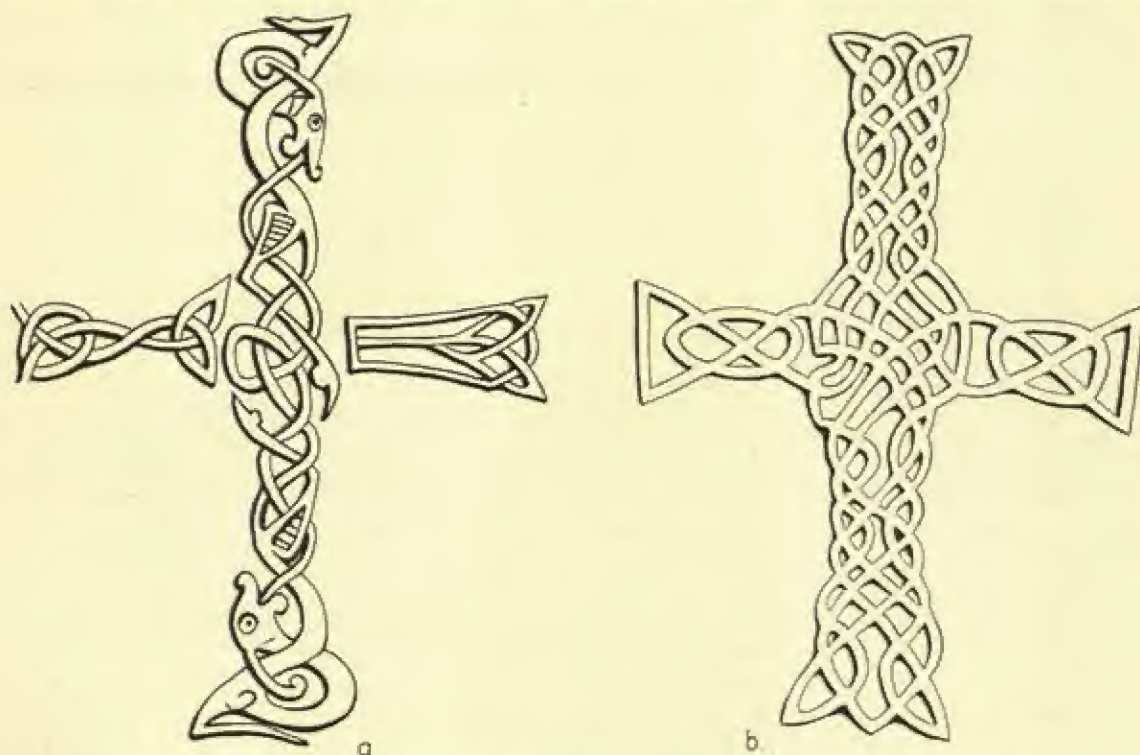


FIG. 7. *a.* Pattern from upper binding-strip (f).

b. Pattern from lower binding-strip (f)

vertical panel two contorted animals with heads at opposite ends and a common interweave of tongue and tail (fig. 7, *a*). The dexter arm, now broken at the end, contains a simple twist of interlace. The sinister arm, complete except that a projecting rivet-hole has evidently been broken off from the end, contains an interlaced pattern consisting of a central stem with two branching leaves and an interweaved somewhat angular loop. The wheel of the cross is ornamented by pellets separated by vertical bars. A broad hatched band separates the cross-head from the tapering main shaft which contains two panels of ornament. The upper is an acanthus-leaf scroll (fig. 8) and the lower a simple figure-of-eight four-strand plait of interlacing. The shaft has a terminal in the form of two bent arms, with the hands resting on a lap, and it has also three projecting pairs of rivet-holes. Between the centre pair and on the space separating the two panels of ornament is a curved device pricked out in small pin-holes and two incised horizontal lines. Traces of a pricked border of dots can be distinguished surrounding the sunken panels of the shaft.

(*c*) *Knop* 1. The top knop (pl. xxxii) of the shaft casing which we call Knop 1 is a tube of yellow bronze, biconical in section, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. in diameter at its greatest width. It is terminated at either end by a narrow bronze band, now exceedingly rubbed but which evidently carried

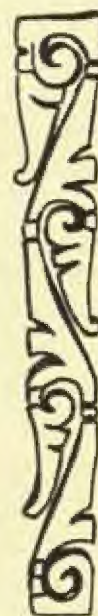


FIG. 8. Foliage pattern from upper binding-strip (f)

an ornament of lozenges divided by vertical bars. This ornament which was common to the border bands of the three knops of the shaft casing is best preserved in the upper border of this knop; it has entirely disappeared from the lower border. The knop is many-faceted and is divided by narrow raised bands into twenty sub-rectangular panels, above and below which are five triangular panels. At the apex of each triangle are raised circular projections (ten in number), partly overlapping the terminal bands, which held rivets for the attachment of the knop to the metal casing. The rectangular panels are arranged in two rows of ten each, and every panel is ornamented; there are ten panels of animal ornament and ten of interlacing arranged alternately. Of the triangular panels seven contain animal ornament and three interlacing, this time, however, irregularly arranged. The panels of animal ornament (fig. 9) consist almost entirely of one or two contorted or intertwined fantastic animal bodies whose convolutions are adapted to the shape of the panel. These creatures, which appear to be mainly quadrupeds, although they are shown in profile with only two legs visible, are provided with outward-curling jaws, intertwined tails, frequently lappets and long curling tongues which form an interlaced pattern, and in a few cases spiral-jointing of the limbs. Six of the panels contain a pair of intertwined, almost identical creatures, but the remainder each contain a single body. The animal in panel 4 is identical with two panels on the lowest knop—Knop 3. One of the triangular panels (1 on diagram) contains a more naturalistic design in the form of a bird seen in profile with pronounced long bent beak, large staring eye, and protruding claw. The panels of interlaced ornament (fig. 10) consist in the main of rather uneven and wavering slender ribbon designs with a great preference for patterns of pointed knot-work. Rather unusual in such interlace work (though frequent enough on this crosier) are patterns with free loops (such as, for example, those in panels 17 and 25) where the individual loops of the interlace, though interwoven, are not connected with one another. A single free loop interwoven with the main interlace occurs in panels 12 and 13. The interlacings are rather rubbed and smooth and it is generally impossible to decide whether bands are crossing over or under one another. The whole of this knop would appear to have been cast and it is by far the best preserved of the three knops of the shaft casing.

Recent work by Dr. Moss of the British Museum Science Laboratory has revealed that the ornamented panels of this knop and of the two lower shaft-knops were originally covered with silver foil, traces of which remain on some panels. This foil was evidently pressed or beaten into the panels between the raised dividing bands. It was subsequently stripped or cut off and in most cases nothing remains but a slight skin at the edges of the panels. A few of the patterns retain larger portions of their silver covering and give some idea of the richness and colour of the knop before it was damaged.

(d) *Knop 2*. This is a bulging knop (pls. xxxi and xxxiii) somewhat similar in general outline to the collar-knop although slightly more angular in section; it is made of yellow bronze. As in the case of Knop 1 it is terminated at top and bottom by narrow border bands on which very faint traces of a lozenge pattern remain in one section, the rest being rubbed completely smooth. In fact this knop is in general very much worn,



Details of knop 1 (i)



Details of knop 2 (3)



1



2



4



11



15



19



23



27



14



18



22



26



30



6



7



8



10

FIG. 9. Knop 1: animal patterns (†)

particularly on the portion which is on the inside of the staff—opposite the binding-strips, so that many of the ornamental panels are almost or completely indecipherable.

The knop is divided into thirty triangular panels, whose disposition can be seen in the accompanying diagram (fig. 1). As on the first knop there is an arrangement of five triangles at the top and bottom of the tube and these all carry rivet-holes at their apexes, also in circular settings. Ten triangles arranged in rows of five, whose slightly concave bases meet at the middle of the knop, have between them very narrow lenticular panels. Alternating with these are two rows of five triangles each, meeting with points touching at the middle of the knop. Of the triangular panels twelve contain animal ornament, sixteen interlace patterns, and two panels are rubbed completely smooth. Two of the lenticular panels carry an interlaced design, two are hatched vertically, and one is indecipherable. Although there are twelve panels of animal ornament, only eight different designs are represented (fig. 11) since four of the panels repeat almost exactly the pattern in the panel opposite. Here again the designs are mainly of contorted quadrupeds, similar in general character to the creatures on Knop 1. A snake-like creature, biting its own tail, makes its first appearance on panels 3 and 8. Two natural forms are represented—a stag (17) with very bent and intertwined legs and a foliage branch in its mouth, and a bird (18) with eagle-like hooked beak and curly plumage, represented in the manner of the illuminated manuscripts of the ninth century. The profusion of interlaced ornament (fig. 12) on this knop is striking. Five of these panels contain a simple triquetra and four other panels (1, 2, 6, and 27) have what is merely a variation on the same theme. Three panels (7, 13, and 14) have a free loop woven into the interlace. Two of the lenticular panels (*b* and *e*) contain a simple knotwork design. As on the other knops it is almost impossible to distinguish the crossing over of the interlace ribbons. The carving of the designs on this knop gives an impression of particular fineness. Here again all the ornamental panels were silvered, even the small lenticular panels, but now most of the silver foil has disappeared.

It is possible that this was the original collar-knop of the shrine and that the crosier was held at this point, which would explain the extreme degree of wear. The suggestion has also been made that the crosier was carried over the shoulder,¹ which would account for the central knop being rubbed and not the collar-knop. Examples of crosiers being so carried may be seen in the Mac Durnan Gospels, folio 46² and on a carving on a pillar from Banagher;³ on the latter the bearer is on horseback. On the well-known scene on the base of the north cross at Ahenny, which depicts six ecclesiastics carrying crosiers,⁴ they are all held high up in the neighbourhood of the collar, but on a panel from the Kilcullen cross the crosier appears to be held farther down.⁵ These carvings may represent wooden staffs and not metal crosiers although the latter is more likely since the crosier was carried as a symbol of ecclesiastical authority. In any case it is evident that the wear on Knop 2 of the Kells crosier is capable of more than one explanation.

¹ Margaret Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

² Zimmerman, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1916, Taf. 205, *a*.

³ Françoise Henry, *Irish Art*, London, 1940, pl. 41, *b*.

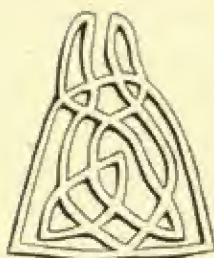
⁴ Françoise Henry, *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, Paris, 1933,

pl. 35, 2.

⁵ Crawford, *Carved Ornament from Irish Monuments*, Dublin, 1926, pl. XLVIII, 148. See other representations of crosiers on same plate.



3



5



9



13



17



21



25



29



12



16



20



24



28

FIG. 10. Knop 1: interlacing (¶)

(e) *Lower Binding-strip.* The lower binding-strip (pl. xxxi, b) of yellow bronze is 4 in. long and like the upper is in the form of a ringed cross with long shaft. The lower portion of the shaft has been broken off and has been repaired by the addition of a plain bronze strip to complete the binding. The upper portion also appears to be incomplete; above the cross itself are the rather worn traces of a toothed bar which

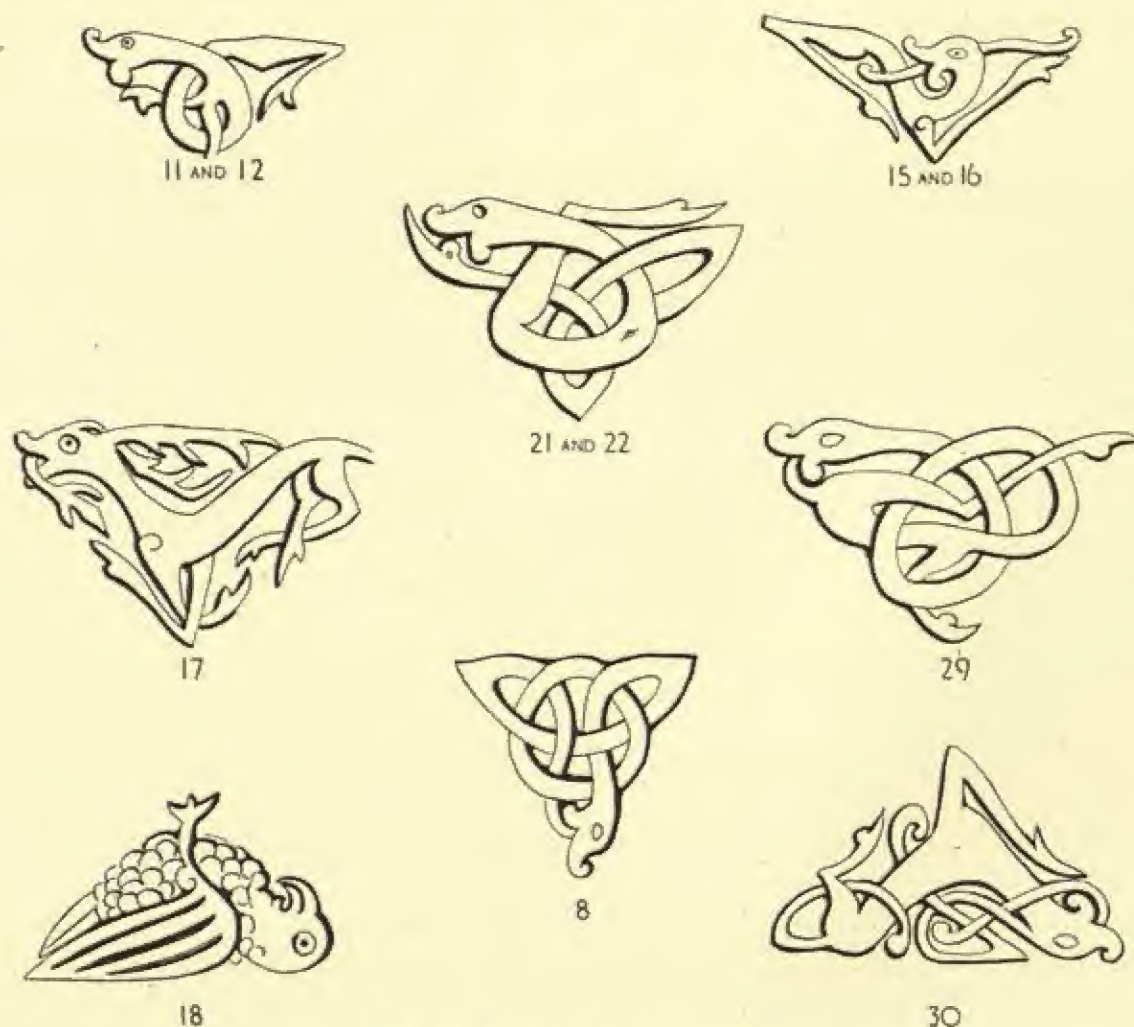


FIG. 11. Knop 2: animal patterns ($\frac{2}{3}$)

probably separated the cross from an upper panel which is now missing. The cross contains as an overall pattern a most hesitating and singularly ill-drawn interlace (fig. 7, b). The basic idea is a simple knotwork design in the vertical panel, complicated by the interweaving of the threads from the arms of the cross. The whole impression is one of awkwardness and inexperience. The ring of the cross is unornamented. A plain band separates the cross-head from the main shaft, which contains an interlace design of a four-strand plait with breaks; the execution in this case is much better than in the cross-head. Another plain band follows, perforated by a large rivet just below the ornamented panel. The shaft is cut through a short distance

below this and a plain bronze strip $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long is attached to the casing by three rivets—thus completing the binding.

(f) *Knop 3*. This is a bulging tube of yellow bronze (pl. xxxiv) which in most places appears to have a thin outer skin of a darker colour. This skin has been shown to be silver foil which has been preserved on this knop to a greater extent than elsewhere on the crosier. All the panels seem to have had silver foil, including the small semi-circular panels which divide the bases of the triangles. The knop is divided by raised bronze bands into twenty-five panels all containing ornament. As on the other shaft-knops there are five triangular panels at the upper and lower ends of the tube. There is a rivet-hole in circular setting at the apex of each of the lower triangles as on Knops 1 and 2 but none at the apexes of the upper triangular panels which step back to the thin bronze border band; this border is considerably damaged and has gaps in two places. The overlapping projections for rivets, which remain on the lower border, may have been filed off the upper band, which is fastened to the shaft by small rivets placed between the triangles. The body of the knop is divided into five circular panels, above and below which are five panels of irregular shape (Fig. 1). One of the circular panels (*d*) contains a spiral design in which eight coils are placed round the centre and are connected alternately by C-curves on the outside and by interlacing on the inside (fig. 13). Another panel (*e*) is divided into four, the divisions having alternately two interlocking spiral coils and two birds' heads with interlocking jaws. Panel *a* contains two intertwined animal bodies each with head touching its own limbs and bodies curved to suit the circular shape. The spiral appears again in panel *c* where a central coil is joined by C-curves to three outer coils formed from the tongue and tails of three animals, and panel *b* is completely zoomorphic with four animals with fish-like tails, interwoven in criss-cross manner, each animal threatening to bite the tail of that opposite to it. This is the only one of the shaft-knops that has spiral ornament and here it is confined to three of the circular panels. It is also notable that there is no panel of pure interlacing on this knop.

The triangular panels all contain animal ornament. All the animals are of the type described in relation to the other knops, quadrupeds with lappets, tails, or tongues forming an interlace, out-turned jaws, and spiral joints. Each panel contains a single animal, that on the upper triangle being repeated with minor variations in the lower panel. Panels 4 and 9 contain animals with front leg upraised and paw touching mouth while 2 and 7 have a somewhat similar animal with, however, back-turned larger head and ear instead of lappet. A long-legged deer-like creature in panels 5 and 10 is, as has already been remarked, identical with the ornament on a panel of Knop 1. In panels 1 and 6 the animal body forms part of a figure-of-eight interlace and the remaining two triangles 3 and 8 contain an animal whose body is wound into a scroll.

The ten panels which surround the central circles also contain animal designs—each panel having two animal bodies intertwined or juxtaposed (fig. 14). The creatures here have more sinuous bodies and are extended so as to conform to the shape of the panels; lappets are missing on the majority of the beasts and an unusual feature is the presence of a type of collar on the necks of several examples. Again there is in most cases a very close correspondence between opposing panels. In panels 17 and 18 are



1 AND 6



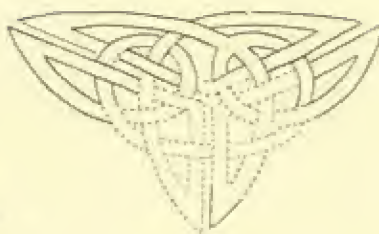
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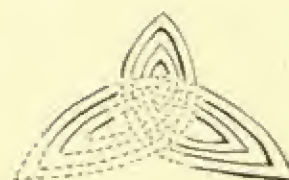
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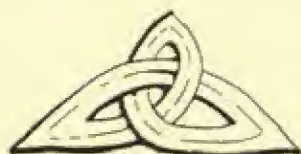
13 AND 14



25 AND 26



27



19 AND 20



b AND e



28



9 AND 4



7



10

FIG. 12. Knop 2: interlacing (I)

snake-like creatures with long flat heads seen from above and intertwined bodies which end in tails which may be fish-like but which are very blurred and difficult to decipher.

The Foot

The shrine ends in a foot or ferrule $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. long which begins immediately below Knop 3 and consists of a bronze tube cast all in one piece (pl. XXVIII, c). The tube has a bulging head with ornament of silver inlay, a shaft which tapers down to another band of silver inlay, below which it swells out slightly and then terminates in three little feet. This latter feature is not paralleled on any other crosier. This portion of the shrine is of red-brown bronze quite different from the bronze of the knops or shaft casing and similar in appearance to the thick bronze repair strip under the collar-knop. The upper bulbous portion of the foot is divided into panels by a framework of silver inlay (pl. XXXIV). Two of the panels contain a design also inlaid in silver. It was probably the original intention to ornament all of the divisions but only two were completed. The design (fig. 18) consists of a curious loose-ended interlacing; it appears to be a very degenerate animal interlace where nothing remains of the animal but a suggestion of the head and a triangular expansion at the junction of body and limbs.

THE ORNAMENT

Before proceeding to a detailed consideration of the ornament and the place to which it may be assigned in Irish Early Christian art it will clarify matters to attempt a brief chronological résumé of the different periods of the crosier.

It is impossible to assign any precise date to the yew staff. It may have been in existence for a considerable length of time before it was enshrined and in any case had presumably been broken and repaired by splicing before it was fitted with its metal cover. To the first period of the shrine, dated broadly to the late ninth or early tenth century, may be assigned the inner (bronze) casing of the crook, the shaft casing, the three lower knops (1, 2, and 3) and the two remaining binding-strips of the shaft. At a later stage, probably tenth century, the crosier was desecrated (the word is used advisedly as it is unlikely that an accident could account for the extent of the damage). The staff and casing were cut through, one binding-strip lost or stolen, another broken, the original collar-knop (or at any rate one of the knops) also lost or stolen. In the eleventh century the shrine was repaired. The broken ends of the shaft were roughly trimmed and then fixed together by a new collar-knop. The crook was not originally turned as it was mounted at this time. As is clear from the diagram (fig. 2) after splicing it must have pointed in the opposite direction. This explains the exceptional position of the binding-strips on the Kells crosier—on the side of the shaft at the back of the crook. On all the other Irish crosiers the binding-strips, when they exist, are on the opposite side of the shaft, where they would be visible when the crosier was held in its normal position with the drop pointing towards the congregation. At the same time as the fitting of the new collar-knop, the old bronze casing of the crook was filed down and the outer silver casing, crest, and reliquary-box were added and also the silver inscription strip. The two binding-strips were replaced, one having

been repaired. The shaft also received an outer casing probably of silver plate. Later still the foot was added.

But this does not end the history of the shrine. Further damage occurred, some perhaps in quite recent times. The staff was stripped of its outer casing and only the rivet-marks remain to tell us of its existence. An attempt was made to remove the crook by cutting through the casing under the collar-knop, but when this failed the junction between the collar-knop and the silver plating of the crook was broken. The collar-knop may originally have possessed an upper stepped border which was removed at this time. The reliquary box was opened, relics removed and also the gem from the front of it, and the inscription strip was cut through. Subsequent repairs consist of the pinning-on of the thick bronze binding-strip to cover the cut in the casing below the collar-knop,¹ the clumsy nailing of the top of the collar-knop to the shaft (resulting in the damage of the knop), the soldering of the silver sheath plates to the collar-knop, and the addition of a frilled bronze strip to cover the join. The inscription strip was patched by a plain piece.

The above attempt to reconstruct the history of the crosier is necessarily imperfect but it gives certain structural information which, added to stylistic considerations, can aid in assigning relative dates to the various parts of the shrine. The considerable amount of damage and repair which this one object has suffered shows the great need for detailed study of these shrines, which, because of the veneration in which they were held, had a very long life and often in their final state exhibit examples of the craftsmanship of widely different periods.

It is proposed to deal with the ornament in chronological order beginning with the earliest period of the shrine. In discussing the stylistic features, reference will be made to the drawings which show the various motifs in greater detail than is possible to obtain in a photograph. All the panels of animal-ornament on the various knops are drawn, except in a few cases where two panels are identical or almost so. Panels of interlacing are also drawn with the exception of those on the collar-knop; the simple designs of the latter panels can be clearly seen on the photographs.

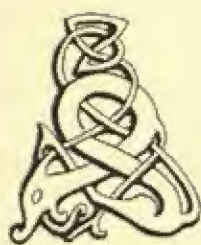
Earlier writers have in general made the mistake of assigning this crosier to a single period, sometimes dating it from the inscription and sometimes from the style of ornament of the collar-knop. More recent writers have, however, recognized that it can, from structural and stylistic considerations, be assigned to more than one period.² What these periods are can best be determined by a consideration of the affinities of the various motifs employed on the shrine.

Period 1

The decorative repertoire has already been briefly described in the general description of the crosier. A glance at the ornament of the three lower knops is sufficient to establish the uniformity of style on these. The very arrangement of the ornament, in panels surrounded by raised borders, suggests that these knops are all of a single

¹ Since the material of this repair strip resembles that of the foot, it may have been added at the same time, thus implying an early date for some of the damage here described.

² Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*, ii, Dublin, 1949, p. 38 and Shetelig, 'The Norse Style of Ornamentation in the Viking Settlements', *Acta Archaeologica*, xix (1948), 110.



6 AND 1



2



4



a



b



c



d



e



7



3 AND 8



9



5 AND 10

FIG. 13. Knop 3: animal and spiral patterns ($\frac{7}{8}$)

period. Minor differences occur—Knop 3 is the only knop with spiral ornament and has no panel of interlacing and the animal patterns are more elaborate on this than on either of the other two knops. Nevertheless two of the panels (5 and 10) contain an animal which has its exact counterpart on Knop 1 panel 4, and the animal in panel 2 of Knop 1 is a very close relation to those in panels 2 and 7, Knop 3. The interlaced ornament on Knop 1 is mainly confined to the sub-rectangular panels, while on Knop 2 the panels are all triangular but there is decided resemblance between the patterns employed. Animal motifs are few on Knop 2 and two of its panels contain definitely naturalistic creatures but the less realistic beasts of the other animal panels on this knop belong to the same fantastic world as the creatures on Knops 1 and 3.

It can thus be safely accepted that these three knops all belong to a single period, and the minor differences between them, such as the passion for interlacing seen on Knop 2 and the lingering taste for spirals evident on Knop 3, can be attributed rather to the vagaries of taste of different artists than to any chronological gap.

Very little remains of the ornament on the inner casing of the crook but the few surviving motifs are stylistically similar to those on the three lower knops. The ornament includes an animal with lappet, protruding tongue, spiral joint, and interlaced limbs, and also panels of rather angular interlacing. The remains, on two panels, of animals whose bodies are looped around their wide-open jaws are reminiscent of panels 19 and 20, Knop 3. The hatched triangular expansion of the body of the best-preserved animal is repeated on the animals of the upper binding strip of the shaft (fig. 7, *a*) and some of the interlaced patterns are also paralleled there. As already stated, the bronze of this inner casing is of the same alloy as that of the shaft casing and there can be little doubt that this inner crook casing is contemporary with the shaft casing, Knops 1, 2, and 3, and the binding-strips.

These latter present somewhat more of a problem because of the occurrence of a panel of foliage which at first glance suggests a later period, but as we shall see these too may fairly certainly be assigned to the early portion of the shrine. The animal-ornament and interlacing are consistent with Period I and structurally the binding-strips would seem to belong to the earliest enshrining of the staff.

At this time the Kells crosier must have been very similar in appearance to the remains of St. Dymphna's crosier, now preserved in the National Museum, Dublin. The latter crosier has a bronze crook casing with panels of animal-ornament and interlacing, two many-faceted knops with raised bronze bands dividing panels of animal ornament and interlacing (a third knop is in a different style—probably earlier), and binding-strips on the shaft, one of which is in the form of a cross but not nearly so elaborate as those on the Kells shrine (pls. xxxv and xxxvi). A similarity in the ornamental details of the two crosiers is also apparent and will be referred to later.¹ St. Dymphna's crosier has been assigned to the eleventh century on no very strong basis.²

¹ Subsequent to the writing of this paper I had an opportunity to examine for the first time St. Mel's crosier (pl. XLII, *a*) which is preserved in St. Mel's College, Longford. More complete than St. Dymphna's, it is structurally very similar to our example and while much of the ornament is of a more degenerate type, some panels present a

very close analogy. It undoubtedly belongs to the same complex. (Illustrated in *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, vol. i, pl. 73, 3 and pl. 76.)

² *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, vol. ii, edited Raftery, Dublin, 1941, p. 158 (hereinafter referred to as *C.A.*).



Details of knop 3 (3)



a.



b.



c.

St. Dympa's crozier: (a) general view, (b) detail of crook, (c) collar-knop (Photos. National Museum, Dublin)



St. Dympe's crozier: details of knop 1
(Photos. National Museum, Dublin)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955



a. St. Molaise's shrine: detail of dexter side
(Photo, F. Henry)



b. St. Molaise's shrine: base
(Photo, F. Henry)

Having established what can be included in Period I of the shrine, it is necessary to define this period by reference to comparisons on metalwork and other media. It is apparent that the decorative repertoire cannot be assigned to the eighth century, the peak period of achievement in what is known as the Vernacular style. The quality of workmanship is inferior on the crosier, the famous chip-carving technique beloved of eighth century metalworking is no longer used, and the arrangement of the ornament in sharply defined panels is in contrast to the exuberant over-all ornamentation of so much of the earlier material. It is equally clear, however, that the motifs employed on the Kells crosier are in direct descent from this rich eighth-century repertoire. Though the craftsmanship does not display the minute delicacy of the Tara brooch and its contemporaries, the artists of the crosier still possessed to a high degree the qualities of inventiveness and imagination so characteristic of their predecessors. Though the interlacing patterns show degeneracy and lack of skill, the animal ornament is still lively, vigorous, and wonderfully varied, and perhaps no other single object of Early Christian art possesses such a repertoire of delightful portrait-animals. The creatures here depicted are not the beasts of the Book of Kells, the most marked distinction being in the treatment of the jaws, but neither is it necessary to wait until the eleventh century to find comparisons for these gay quadrupeds with curling jaws. In fact the crosier animal-ornament which shows no trace of Scandinavian influence is quite unlike the vocabulary of the later metalwork with the exception of that on St. Molaise's book-shrine. And in this connexion one must point out that the animal patterns on *Soiscél Molaise* (as it is called) have always been considered archaic in form¹ and part of the decoration has been described as 'stylistically late-ninth century'² although the inscription would date at least part of the shrine between A.D. 1001 and 1025. There is considerable contrast between the styles of animal-ornament on different panels of the book-shrine, some resembling those on the crosier (pl. XXXVII, *a* and *b*, second panel from top) and others showing disintegration and lack of coherence in the ornament. It is hardly then begging the question to suggest that St. Molaise's shrine, as so many others, may belong to several periods. For example, the ring-chain motif in the corners of the back plate³ would be most at home in the tenth century. If, indeed, this shrine is of a single period, and all the animal-ornament can be dated to the early eleventh century, we are seeing the last appearance of the native animal forms, before they become modified by impulses from the north and we are provided with a *terminus ante quem* for the crosier decoration.

The Animal-Ornament (figs. 7, 9, 11, 13, 14)

If analogies for the ornament of Period I are not to be found in eleventh-century art, where then are the relevant comparisons? Since animal patterns form by far the largest part of the repertoire it is convenient to deal with them first. One of the troubles from the point of view of dating is the lack of firmly dated material of the ninth century in Ireland. In discussions on Irish Early Christian metalwork there is

¹ Françoise Henry, *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, Paris, 1933, (complete) in the inscription are discussed.
i, 77.

² *C.A.*, ii, 120, where the implications of the word 'imlan'

³ *C.A.*, vol. i, pl. 57. 2.

a tendency to date all the available material to the well-represented eighth century or to the period of the eleventh-twelfth century revival, leaving the intervening years denuded of all achievement in this medium. Nevertheless, it is to this period, ninth and early tenth centuries, that many of the high crosses are assigned and it would be surprising if endeavour flourished in this sphere alone. Let us examine the ornament in detail.

A characteristic animal portrait is to be seen on Knop 1. 2 and on Knop 3. 2 and 7 with slight variations between them; Knop 2. 15 and 16 are also of the same family. Unlike many of the other creatures depicted, this particular beast has close analogies, inside and outside Ireland. On the back of the well-known Killamery brooch (pl. xxxviii, *a*) are two panels of animal ornament seldom referred to or illustrated. Each contains a creature with turned-back large head, strikingly similar in attitude and general appearance to those from the crosier. The carving is finer as befits a smaller object and the animals on the brooch are elaborately cross-hatched, a feature which is rare on the crosier though it does occur to a slight degree on Knop 1. 2. Other slight differences occur in the treatment of eye and ear but nevertheless the parallel is very close. The animal heads which terminate the ring-loop on the back of the same brooch have the wide-apart curling jaws of the crosier animals as have also those surrounding the terminals on the front. This brooch is usually dated to shortly after A.D. 850.¹

Another pair of animals bearing a distinct resemblance to the group in question is found on the back of the terminals of a brooch from Donegal in the British Museum (pl. xli, *a*). This brooch is discussed rather ambiguously by Smith who assigns it in his text to varying dates in the ninth century but in his list to A.D. 750.² Subsequently he clarifies the position and dates it convincingly on typological grounds to the end of the ninth century, by comparison with one of the brooches from the Trewhiddle hoard.³ Confirmation of such a dating is provided by Hencken⁴ who illustrates and discusses the Donegal brooch and calls attention to the stylistic resemblance between the animals on the back of the terminals and the beast on the Talnotrie strap-tag. The treatment of the heads on the animals of the brooch differs from that of the crosier beasts but the suggestion of a bar across the mouth is paralleled on our Knop 3. 13. The foreleg is curled backwards, not raised to touch the head, but the raised hind-quarters, spiral-joints, treatment of the paws, and absence of hatching contribute to the close resemblance.

The ancestor of this type of animal in Irish art is easily found and a series of brooches provides a clue to the continuity and development of the type. All the elements of the design are to be seen in the elegantly drawn creature, enclosed in a panel on the fragment of a brooch from Dunbeath, Caithness,⁵ and to a lesser extent in the beast on the terminals of a brooch from Mull,⁶ both dated to the second half of the eighth century.⁷ The still earlier Tara brooch has no animal identical with this particular group but the animal-ornament on the front of one of the terminals clearly indicates it as related to the style.⁸ A later example of this pattern may be noted on the

¹ *C.A.* ii, 147 and R. Smith, 'Irish Brooches of Five Centuries', *Archaeologia*, lxxv (1913-14), 249.

² Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 238, 240, and 248.

³ *British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Guide*, pp. 135-6.

⁴ *Cahercommaun*, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ire-

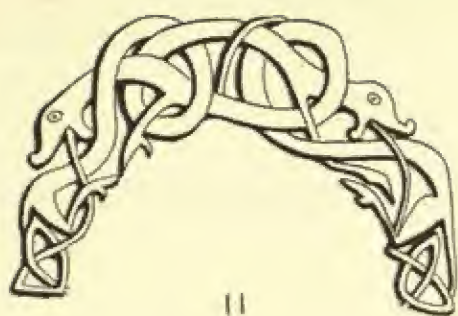
land, Special volume 1938, p. 20 and fig. 17.

⁵ J. Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2nd ser., fig. 11.

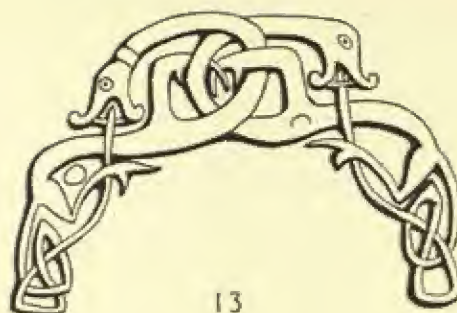
⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 8.

⁷ Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 248.

⁸ *C.A.*, vol. i, pl. 14.



11



13



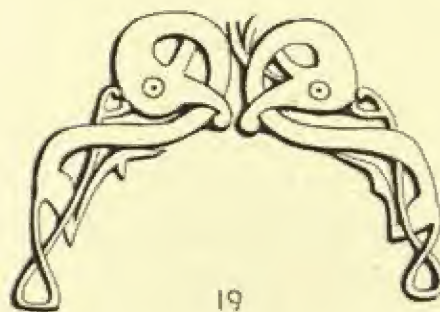
12



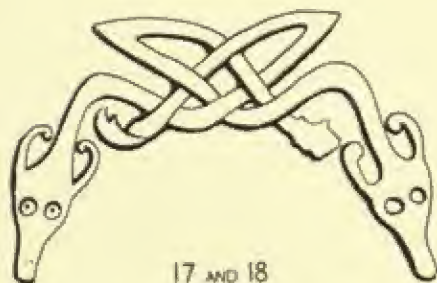
14



15 AND 16



19



17 AND 18



20

FIG. 14. Knop 3: animal patterns (f)

front of the terminals of a brooch (probably from Scotland) now in the British Museum, which is dated to the early ninth century;¹ the animal here is particularly reminiscent of Knop 2. 11 and 12. A kinship is also recognizable with the now rather worn animal designs on another brooch of early ninth century date, from Tara, Co. Meath—also in the British Museum—particularly in such details as the treatment of the ears.²

Mention has already been made of the famous hoard found at Trewhiddle, Cornwall³ which gives its name to the late ninth-century southern English style.⁴ The close connexion of some of the crosier patterns with those on objects decorated in this style is immediately apparent. The distorted portrait animals, enclosed in panels, such as appear on the most characteristic objects of the style—the Trewhiddle mountings (pl. xxxix, *a*) and strap-tags and the Wallingford sword⁵—have no exact counterparts on the Kells shrine where the animals are all clear and coherent in the drawing. But included in the style are such well-drawn beasts as that on the strap-tag from Talnotrie (fig. 15)⁶ whose relationship to the series from the crosier is undeniable. There



FIG. 15. Animal from Talnotrie strap-tag.

are minor differences—the shape of the head and the fact that the Talnotrie beast has four legs while those on the crosier have only two. In a recent work⁷ Professor Haseloff has suggested that the Talnotrie animal derives from the older tradition of northern English animal ornament rather than from the degenerate southern English manuscript style which furnishes the basis for most of the Trewhiddle creatures. Thus the strap-tag would reflect a blending of

two traditions, owing its general design to the Trewhiddle style but the clarity of the animal-drawing to the northern school. It is likewise with the crosier patterns.

As Sir Thomas Kendrick has pointed out⁸ the art of the south with its Merovingian flavour influenced the Northumbrian art of the ninth century and led to the predominance of the single creature in a panel, although the animal in the north of England remained essentially the beast of the vine-scroll emerged from the scroll. A similar influence was felt in Irish art and although the Trewhiddle style in its full disintegrated waywardness is never seen in this country its accent may be traced on the Kells crosier in some of the animal portraits and in the practice of dividing a surface into many small panels each containing ornament. The forward-facing animal on Knop 2. 30 in its attitude and in the sturdy expansion of the shoulder resembles the creatures of the southern English style⁹ although in the details of head and interlaced lappet and tongue it remains essentially native. This panel and some others on the crosier (Knop 2. 15, 16, and 17) can also be compared with the triangular panels containing single animals which ornament the doorway of the Hiberno-Romanesque church at

¹ Smith, *loc. cit.*, pl. xxvi, 8 and p. 249.

² *C.A.*, vol. i, pl. 23, 4 and ii, p. 113.

³ Hencken, *Archaeology of Cornwall and Scilly*, London, 1932, p. 262.

⁴ The development of this graceful but degenerate style from the ninth-century southern English manuscript ornament, in its turn based on Frankish models, has been traced by Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament*, London and

Copenhagen, 1924, pp. 127 ff.

⁵ Brøndsted, *op. cit.*, figs. 104 and 105.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 108.

⁷ *Der Tassilokelch*, Munich, 1951, p. 35.

⁸ *Anglo-Saxon Art*, London, 1938, p. 196.

⁹ See for comparison the animals on the mounts from Trewhiddle (pl. xxxix, *a*) and Brøndsted, *loc. cit.*, fig. 104.



a. Killamery brooch: detail of back

(Photo. National Museum, Dublin)



b. Tara brooch: detail of pin

(Photo. Fögra Fáilte)



a. Trewiddale mountings



b. Bone trial-piece: Shandon, Co. Waterford
(*Photo. G. Haseloff*)



c. Panel from Termonfechin cross, Co. Louth
(*Photo. F. Henry*)

Killeshin, Co. Leix. These carvings¹ though considerably later in date have much of the feeling of the Trewhiddle style and as pointed out by Dr. Henry² carry on the tradition of the Kells animals although they have lost many of the earlier features. These are not the only evidences on the shrine of contact with Anglo-Saxon art³ and we shall see more of them later, but the fact that the strap-tags and other ornaments, decorated in the Trewhiddle style, belong for the most part to hoards well dated by coins to the latter half of the ninth century is of the utmost importance from the point of view of dating Period I of the crosier.

Before leaving this particular group of animals, a word may be said of their relationship to the well-known group of objects found on the continent—the Tassilo chalice, the Fejøl cup, and the Lindau book-cover. In his masterly and definitive publication of the Tassilo chalice⁴ Professor Haseloff stresses the influence on these objects of both Irish and English art—the Hiberno-Saxon culture stream which contributed so much to their decoration. The animals of both groups on the chalice show a marked affinity with some of the crosier beasts although the firm, clear drawing of the latter is at variance with the slackness and loose windings of the continental creatures. Other details differ, the treatment of the animal heads, the double hind-legs of the Tassilo animals, a feature of rare occurrence on the crosier, and the presence on the chalice of 'penetration'—a device which is exceedingly rare in Ireland and which does not appear at all on the crosier. Nevertheless, the general resemblance points to a common inspiration and a comparison of the animal forms shows in a remarkable manner the differing development of the same prototype at home and abroad. On the continent even at so early a date as the late eighth century the Irish animal has been transformed and has become loose and incoherent in the drawing although it retains traces of its origin in spiral-joint, lappet, and attitude. This graceful but rather effeminate and decadent style of decoration is in contrast with the sturdy vigour of the Irish style which only approaches it at a much later date, as for example on the crosier, and even then the animal is still clearly and coherently drawn. A similar relationship to the Kells assembly may be noted in the animals of the Fejøl cup—particularly in the crouching creature with back-turned head from the frieze.⁵ The hatched triangular expansions at the junctions of body and limbs which are a marked feature of the more ribbon-like animals on the body of the cup are paralleled on the inner crook of the crosier (fig. 3) and on the upper binding-strip (pl. xxxi, a). The double hind-legs of an animal on the inner crook and the smooth head and sharply up-curved body of the beast on Knop 1. 8 also suggest comparison with the continental group of animals.

Leaving for the present the single portrait animal let us turn to the pairs of animals, confronted or intertwined, which play such a large part in the repertoire of the artists of the shrine. This motif has a long life in Irish art and considerable variety occurs in the treatment. The animals above and below the circular panels on Knop 3 are the familiar undulating ribbon-beasts with little of the naturalism evident on some of the other panels. The pair of animals in panels 15 and 16 are clearly in the tradition

¹ *J.R.S.A.J.*, xlviii (1918), pl. xiii.

² *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, p. 185.

³ English ornament in its turn shows some evidence of contacts with Ireland during the period in question.

Brøndsted, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 ff.

⁴ *Der Tassilokelch*, Munich, 1951, p. 49 and *passim*.

⁵ Haseloff, *loc. cit.*, abb. 33.

of the crossing animals on an eighth-century mounting in the National Museum.¹ The attitude of the creatures is identical and also the curling jaws and manner of treating the paws and tongue; only in the treatment of the lappet, the double-contouring and hatching of the body, and absence of tail does the earlier animal differ. A variation on the same theme is to be found on a panel from St. Molaise's shrine (pl. xxxvii, *b*, second panel from top) although on the book-shrine the hind-quarters are treated differently to conform to the shape of the panel. Very similar also in attitude though differing in details are the crossed animals on one of the bone trial pieces from Lagore, Co. Meath.² This bone trial piece may be dated to the late eighth or more likely to the early ninth century and its use in metal-casting³ is of particular interest in view of the proximity of Lagore to Kells. The other patterns on the same piece are in the true Vernacular chip-carved style which does not appear on the crosier. The ending of one of the animal bodies in a loose interlaced knot is, however, exactly paralleled on Knop 1. 8. These trial pieces will be referred to again in connexion with the interlace patterns. A similar bone trial piece from Shandon, Co. Waterford (pl. xxxix, *b*) shows a pair of crossed animals with lappets and tails interlaced and the other side of the same piece has two creatures with back-turned heads, interlaced lappets, curled jaws and tongues, reminiscent of some of the crosier animals—note for example the treatment of the eyes. The suggestion on the latter animals of the bodies ending in another head is paralleled on Knop 3. 14 where one of the animals terminates most curiously in a delightful little animal head sharing a common tongue with the first. The flat carving of the Shandon bone and the absence of hatching or double contours in the drawing would suggest a date later than that of the Lagore pieces; the second half of the ninth century is feasible.

The drawn-out winding of the animal bodies in this group of panels is due mainly to the shape of the field and quite a close parallel to Knop 3. 13 and 14 is to be found on the Steeple Bumpstead boss⁴ though again the hind-quarters differ. Something of the undulating effect of the beasts on panels 11 and 12 is obtained on a panel from Drumcliffe cross, Co. Sligo⁵ although the stone carving lacks the loop in the body of the crosier beasts.

Animals whose heads are seen from above and not in profile make their sole appearance on the shrine in panels 17 and 18—unfortunately rather worn. These are snake-like creatures without any limbs and are comparable to animals on the tenth-century market cross at Kells and on the north cross, Duleek.⁶ Owing to the very worn condition of these panels it is difficult to be certain how the animal bodies end, but it is probable that they terminate in a type of fish tail as do those on Knop 3, *b* and on the comparisons cited. The fish-tailed serpent occurs also at an earlier stage in Irish art; for example, in an initial on folio 177^r in the Book of Kells.⁷

More solidly built pairs of animals comprise much of the decoration on Knop 1. The design on panel 26 is very closely paralleled by the pair of animals roughly

¹ *C.A.*, pl. 18. 6.

² Hencken, *P.R.I.A.* liii (1950), fig. 95A.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴ *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Guide*, London, 1923, fig. 185. 2.

⁵ Crawford, *Carved Ornament from Irish Monuments*, Dublin, 1926, pl. xxxiv, 86.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. xxxii, 81 and 82.

⁷ Facsimile Edition, Berne, 1951.

sketched on either side of a stone trial piece from Lagore.¹ Such stone trial pieces (known from several excavations) do not exhibit finished designs, such as appear on the bone trial pieces but merely represent the preliminary sketches of the artists. This example from Lagore shows the same curling jaws, treatment of limbs, and general

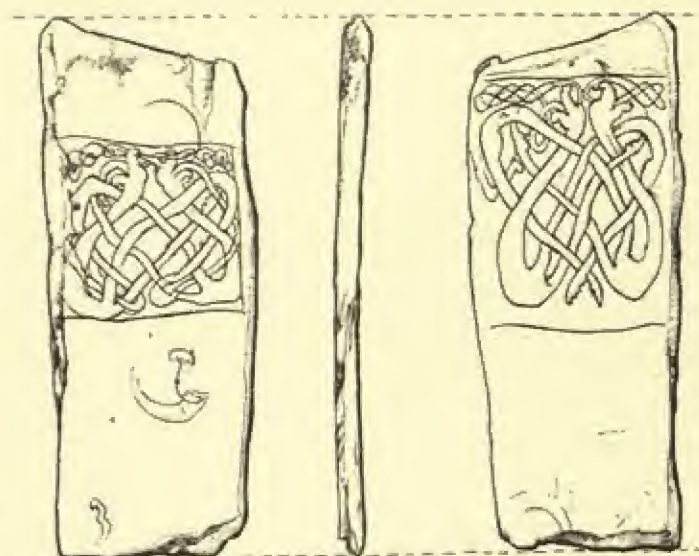


FIG. 16. Stone trial-piece from Lagore, Co Meath (I)

attitude of some of the crosier creatures. Unfortunately it is an unstratified find but a valuable clue for dating is provided by the fragment of a design which appears below the interlaced animals on one side of the stone. There we see a portion of a zoomorphic spiral design of the type found completed on the fine belt buckle from the same site.² Such a design could hardly be later in date than the eighth century and although the animal pattern on the trial piece would by itself suggest a later dating it is probable that all the patterns on the stone are contemporary and thus we have an early form of a design which in a somewhat different fashion appears on the crosier.

Two curiously shaped creatures with rounded bodies appear on Knop 1 in panels 11, 14, and 27. These are comparable with the smooth round-bodied animals that frame the terminals on the brooches from Cahercommaun, Killamery and on one of the smaller brooches from the Ardagh hoard³ all of which may be dated to about A.D. 850. The animals in panel 27 have their closest counterparts in the curious creatures on the back of the terminals of the 'Dalriada brooch' although they differ in the shape of the head.⁴ This brooch with openwork borders on the terminals may be dated to the latter part of the ninth century. The four animals with raised paws which fill the corners of the pin-head in the smallest Ardagh brooch,⁵ though again differing in the shape of the head, have a good deal in common with many of the beasts on this knop.

The attitude of the creatures in panel 11 is comparable with that of a pair of animals

¹ Hencken, *loc. cit.*, fig. 89, 958.

² *Ibid.*, fig. 11, 323 and pl. XIV, 3.

³ See Hencken, *Cahercommaun*, figs. 11, 15, and 17 and

p. 30 where their possible Merovingian-southern English connexion is discussed.

⁴ *C.A.*, pl. 21, 3b.

⁵ *C.A.*, pl. 56.

on a panel from the ninth-century Patrick and Columba cross at Kells¹ but is much more closely paralleled on a bronze mounting of Irish origin in Stavanger Museum, found in an early ninth century Viking grave at Vige, Rogaland. The style of this mounting and its fine spiral ornament place it in the eighth century but the animal



FIG. 17. Detail of bronze mounting from Vige, Norway (†)

pattern (fig. 17) with crossed-over necks and arms and curled-out jaws, is clearly ancestral to our design. The rather angular form of the body of the crosier pattern occurs at a later date on the eleventh-century cross at Dysert O'Dea² where, however, the animals are enmeshed in writhing snakes. Another panel on the latter cross³ is similar to panel 26 discussed above. This same pose is already observable in the decoration of the Book of Kells and may be noted in the pairs of animals in the capitals of some of the Canon Table arches—for example folio 3^v—though the animals on the earlier work are more supple and ribbon-like than those on the crosier.

A modification of the familiar scroll-beast occurs in several panels—Knop 1. 7 and 15 and Knop 3. 3 and 8.

This type of pattern, in which the body of the animal is coiled around to take the place of the original vine-scroll is common in the eighth century—on the Book of Lindisfarne, on the Tara brooch, and on engraved mountings of Irish or Hiberno-Scottish origin found mainly in Norwegian and Swedish graves.⁴ In somewhat different form it continues to be used on the high crosses of the ninth and tenth centuries, becoming increasingly rare after that date though it still survives on some metalwork objects such as St. Molaise's shrine (pl. xxxvii, a) whose other early characteristics have already been discussed. The scroll animal on Knop 1. 7 and on Knop 3. 3 and 8 has a near relative on a panel from the Patrick and Columba cross at Kells;⁵ the design on the cross consists of two such animals intercrossing, a composition which appears also on the middle knop of St. Dymphna's crosier. The arrangement in Knop 3. 15 is rather different but resembles the uppermost animal in the scroll-pattern from the cross at Bealin.⁶ Three of these panels 1. 7 and 3. 3 and 8 have two spread-apart hind-legs, a feature which occurs on the inner crook casing but not elsewhere on the crosier, but which is decidedly reminiscent of the treatment of the hind-quarters of the animals of Type a on the Tassilo chalice.⁷ The presence of two hind-legs has been regarded as a distinctly Irish characteristic⁸ but they are in fact quite rare in Irish art. They occur in the early period on the scroll animals of the Book of Lindisfarne and the Bealin cross and on an Irish bronze mounting from Fure, Norway⁹

¹ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, fig. 48b.

² Crawford, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxiv, 90.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv, 89.

⁴ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, pp. 63–65 where the motif is fully discussed; also *Irish Art*, pp. 80–5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 25, e.

⁶ Dated by an inscription to the end of the eighth cen-

tury—Henry, 'L'Inscription de Bealin', *Revue Archéologique*, 1930, pp. 111–15. Illustrated in Crawford, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxiv, 91.

⁷ Haseloff, *op. cit.*, p. 19 and Abb. 2, 4, and 6.

⁸ Åberg, *The Occident and the Orient in the Art of the Seventh Century: The British Isles*, p. 117.

⁹ Brøndsted, *op. cit.*, fig. 62.

which shows a conventionalization of the Northumbrian vine-pattern; they tend to disappear on the animals of the later scrolls. Since all the examples cited owe their general design to the north of England it may safely be accepted that the double hind-legs derive from the same source where they are of frequent occurrence.¹

Patterns in which the body of a single animal is coiled and twisted into a figure-of-eight are found in Knop 1. 23 and 30 and Knop 3. 1 and 6. A further elaboration of this tight coiling of the animal body may be seen on Knop 2. 21 and 22 and Knop 1. 18. The last-named animal pattern is strikingly similar in composition to the animal on the front of the Tara brooch pin-head (pl. xxxviii, *b*) while the less-closely coiled bodies in the other panels have early relatives on the same brooch (the panels on the front of the terminals and back of the pin-head) and on the Steeple-Bumpstead boss.² Another early occurrence of this type of pattern is in the panels on the ridge-mounting of a house-shrine in the National Museum³ generally assigned to the eighth century. At a later date we find this design on the crook and one of the knops of St. Dymphna's crosier (pls. xxxv and xxxvi) and on St. Molaise's book-shrine.⁴ The animal pattern on the upper binding-strip fig. 7, *a* is of the same family but the shape of the panel does not require such a tight coiling of the body; this design is very closely paralleled on the crook of St. Dymphna's crosier and on the above-mentioned ridge-mounting.

In the general description of the staff-knops reference has already been made to a few animals or birds which stand apart from the main body of the crosier repertoire by their much more naturalistic treatment. These panels comprise two birds (Knop 2. 18 and Knop 1. 1), a stag (Knop 2. 17), and a four-legged creature (Knop 1. 4 and Knop 3. 5 and 10) which, though not so immediately identifiable as the others has nevertheless a considerable degree of naturalism in the treatment and might best be described as a young deer.

The bird shown in panel 18, Knop 2 is of the fierce eagle type so common in insular manuscript representation.⁵ The treatment of the plumage is particularly reminiscent of the manuscript style, and for comparison of plumage, large staring eye, and general attitude of the bird, one may refer in particular to folio 76^v in the Book of Kells. These indeed are the ancestors of the crosier birds but in the manner of enclosing the bird in a panel and in the general impression of both the crosier panels we are even more vividly reminded of certain of the heraldic animals on Merovingian manuscripts of the eighth century and on the southern English manuscripts derived from them.⁶ In the same group must be included the bird on the Fejøl cup (pl. xli, *b*) which has obviously a southern-English derivation. The manner of inserting the leg and the treatment of the claw on Knop 1. 1 is repeated exactly on the Fejøl cup. The large staring eye and the line dividing head and neck on the same panel have their identical counterparts in all the birds of the Sacramentarium Gelasianum and the stance and wing treatment of the crosier bird are similar to that of the bird on the British Museum manuscript Cotton Vespasian A I.⁶ The long beak of our example is seen on a bird in the eighth-century Irish-style manuscript Paris Latin, 1587.⁷

¹ Brøndsted, *op. cit.*, figs. 35, 46, 50.

² *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Guide*, London, 1923, fig. 185, 3. ³ *C.A.*, pl. 18, 1. ⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 58, 2.

⁵ Examples will be found in the Book of Kells, Lindis-

farne Gospels, Echternach Gospels, St. Gall Gospels, &c.

⁶ Brøndsted, *op. cit.*, figs. 83, 84, 85, 87.

⁷ Aberg, *op. cit.*, fig. 84, 6.

Unlike the birds the stag does not appear at all in Irish illumination but is a very frequent motif on stone carving. The stag in panel 17, Knop 2 has its closest counterpart on the carved pillar of the late eighth to early ninth century from Banagher, Offaly, now in the National Museum.¹ The beast on the stone carving is definitely real; it is caught in a trap and forms part of a representational scene comprising another animal and a horseman. But, nevertheless, the stag is enclosed in a panel as the cross scenes were, at this period, beginning to be enclosed and although the reality of the animal is never in doubt it is treated none the less as an ornament in the same way as the more fantastic creatures. Two of the animal's legs are caught up in the trap giving an ornamental effect not far removed from the intercrossing of the stag's legs on the crosier. The latter delightful creature is, of course, pure ornament and the limbs are unhesitatingly adapted to best fit in the triangular panel. It resembles the Banagher beast in the shape and attitude of the head and the treatment of the antlers but what appears on the carving as a tongue or tusk has developed on the crosier into a foliate branch. A representation of a stag on the Bealin cross² is almost identical with the Banagher carving and the relationship with the crosier beast is equally apparent, the flat carving of both monuments serving to accentuate the similarity.

At an earlier stage the Tybroughney cross³ exhibits a spirited carving of a stag together with other symbols from the Bestiary. The long-legged grace of the Tybroughney animal and the well-marked spiral joints are somewhat akin to the deer-like animal in Knop 1. 4 and Knop 3. 5 and 10. The beast of the crosier panel with its intertwined legs, lappet, and tongue belongs to the world of fantasy but retains some faint echo of a living model.

Scenes of hunting, already seen on the crosses of the Ahenny group⁴ continue to play a part in the iconography of the ninth and tenth centuries and representations of the stag occur on the base of the Patrick and Columba cross and on a shaft panel as well as the base of the market cross at Kells.⁵ Similar hunting-scenes and stag pictures are of frequent occurrence on many of the cross-slabs of Scotland.⁶ As late as the eleventh century we find a stag portrait in one of the triangular panels already referred to on the doorway of Killeishin church.⁷ Here the portrait has become even more stylized and removed from reality, two legs only are shown and the body is considerably distorted, but the triangular setting recalls the crosier beast.

The circular panels on Knop 3 have been left for consideration to the last because on some of them the animal-ornament is mingled with another element—a form of rather degenerate spiral. Panel *a* contains animal-ornament alone and the pattern consists of two intertwined beasts, with sinuous bodies, protruding tongues, and extraordinarily long forelimbs which help to intertwine them tightly together. The close windings of the design hark back to the Book of Durrow⁸ but despite the different arrangement due to the shape of the panel the animals fit in well with the general crosier series; note the occurrence of the collar as on panels 13 and 14 of this same

¹ Henry, *Irish Art*, London, 1940, pl. 41, *b*.

² *Irish Art*, fig. 40.

³ Crawford, *op. cit.*, pl. XL, 113.

⁴ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, figs. 89 and 93.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 58, 2 and pl. 37, 4 and 6.

⁶ Curle, 'The Chronology of the Early Christian Monuments of Scotland'. *P.S.A.S.* lxxiv (1939-40), pls. xxxiv, xlIII, and xlvi.

⁷ *J.R.S.A.I.*, xlviii (1918), pl. xIII.

⁸ *Irish Art*, fig. 25.

knop. Another purely zoomorphic pattern is seen on panel *b*. This design is well in keeping with the type of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic interlace which is so common on Irish art from the vernacular period onwards. For general comparison one may cite four-figure interlaces on the Banagher pillar, Ahenny cross, and the market cross at Kells¹ on all of which are human figures, and an animal interlace on a panel of Kinnitty cross.² A closer analogy to the crosier panel is to be found on Dromiskin cross³ where both the arrangement and type of animal are very similar although on the stone carving the animals bite serpents' heads instead of each other's tails as on the crosier.

Spirals and Frets

A combination of animal-ornament and the familiar trumpet spiral is seen on panel *c*. The basis of the design was already in evidence in the seventh century on the Book of Durrow and on the hanging-bowl escutcheons⁴ and it continued in popularity right through the eighth century where it occurs on such objects as the bronze disk in Bergen Museum⁵ and in a different form on the Book of Kells, folio 28^v. But these designs were entirely abstract and in the crosier panel animal bodies have been combined effectively with the geometric motif. Although no exact parallel is forthcoming the idea is common enough and a similar and equally effective combination occurs on a panel from Termonfechin cross (pl. xxxix, *c*) where the animal heads are also similar to those of the crosier. This cross does not fit easily into a well-defined group. It appears to be an intermediate type as is the cross of Patrick and Columba at Kells and lies between the eighth-century crosses and the later figured groups.⁶ A date somewhere towards the end of the ninth century is therefore reasonable. A further example of the combination of spirals and animal-ornament occurs on the same cross.⁷ A hint of this method of combining zoomorphs and spirals already appears in the eighth century on a bronze mounting from Halsan, Norway⁸ on which the animal heads with wide-apart jaws bear some resemblance to the crosier beasts. But for the most part efforts at mingling spirals with other motifs—animal-ornament or interlace—only occur when the spiral is already in its decline. The arrangement of three bodies to fill a circle in the fashion of this panel is wide-spread and is paralleled by a similar use of human figures in the Book of Kells and on the Togherstown brooch.⁹

The decoration on panel *e* also comprises animal-ornament and spirals but here arranged in a totally different manner. In general outlay the panel is merely a type of spiral-fret design, a combination which was particularly common.¹⁰ The fret-pattern on a slab at Inchagoill¹¹ gives a clear idea of the rectilinear basis of the design which also occurs on the west cross at Monasterboice.¹² But on the crosier the inner windings of the fret-pattern have become in two quadrants bulbous spirals, and in the other two, animal heads with interlocking jaws. The type of spiral is closely paralleled on a cross at Drainie in Scotland¹³ and also occurs frequently in Ireland—for example on

¹ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, fig. 45, *c* and *d* and fig. 46, *d*.

² Crawford, *op. cit.*, fig. 12, *A*.

³ *Ibid.*, fig. 11, *c*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 43, *d*.

⁵ Crawford, *op. cit.*, fig. 10, *A*.

⁶ *C.A.*, i, pl. 19, 9.

⁷ *Irish Art*, pl. 12.

⁸ *Irish Art*, p. 175.

⁹ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, fig. 46, *b* and *c*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56 for references.

¹¹ Crawford, *op. cit.*, fig. 8, *A*.

¹² *Ibid.*, fig. 10, *D*.

¹³ Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2nd ser., fig. 73.

the Book of Kells folio 34'. The transformation of the inner whorls of spirals into animal heads is met with on crosses of the eighth century, for example at Ahenny and Tybroughney,¹ but the interlocking jaws of the crosier beasts have their most striking parallel in the design of intertwined serpents which fills the ends of the arms on the east face of the Killamery cross.² The heads of the animals with their curled out upper jaw and their shorter under-jaw are almost identical on stone-carving and metal object; the only difference is that the sculptor has provided his beasts with a row of sharp teeth. Despite the survival of this early type of animal, the strongly rectilinear basis of the panel design would not be at home in eighth-century art and has more of the character of the later spiral designs such as one on the west or broken cross at Kells³ which may be dated to the late ninth or early tenth century.

Only one circular panel (*d*) remains to be dealt with, and here the ornament is entirely geometric. The design has already been described and consists of a combination of spirals and an interlace ornament. The interlace is undoubtedly derived from the piercings which occur on the alternate expansions and which are a fairly usual feature on spiral designs.⁴ In general character the pattern is related to that cited above on the broken cross at Kells but a closer comparison is to be found on a cross at Irton in Cumberland.⁵ The ornament on this cross of the early ninth century is distinctly Irish in character, and while Sir Thomas Kendrick suggests a Carolingian origin for the roundel pattern⁶ the resemblance to the crosier ornament implies an Irish source for the design. The lower roundel on the Irton cross shows a kinship in its rectilinear spirals with panel *e* dealt with above. A type of curved fret-pattern appears on a roundel on a cross at Clonca, Co. Donegal,⁷ and presents a distinct analogy to our panel *d* in both pattern and arrangement; unfortunately the cross is not closely datable. In metalwork the only parallel I can discover is on a bronze mounting from the Monastery of Nendrum.⁸

This concludes the survey of the animal and spiral patterns on the early part of the crosier. The comparative material covers a wide field but the most securely dated parallels fall within the ninth century, the series of late ninth-century brooches and the objects in the Trewhiddle style providing the best fixed points. The long timespan of the other analogies cited prevents a very precise dating but although some of the motifs employed on the crosier hark back to an earlier tradition, the very varied total of the animal-ornament could hardly have been achieved until the second half of the ninth century or the early part of the tenth.

A word must be said about the treatment of the animal head which is absolutely consistent in the entire repertoire of the crosier. This type of head with curling jaws is well exemplified on the animals of St. Molaise's shrine (pl. xxxvii) but has been considered as a Scandinavian borrowing which does not make its appearance in Ireland until about the eleventh century.⁹ The animals on the Jellinge cup,¹⁰ which is firmly

¹ Crawford, *op. cit.*, fig. 11, A and B.

² Excellently illustrated in *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, pl. 27, 2.

³ Crawford, *op. cit.*, pl. xviii, 19.

⁴ See for example a panel from Muiredach's cross, Monasterboice, *ibid.*, pl. xviii, 18.

⁵ Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, London, 1938, pl. xcii, 2

—upper roundel.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁷ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, fig. 74.

⁸ H. C. Lawlor, *The Monastery of Saint Mochaoi of Nendrum*, Belfast, 1925, pl. xi, 86.

⁹ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, p. 77.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fig. 34, f.

dated to about A.D. 930, exhibit a modification of this feature and although there is now complete agreement that the Scandinavian style is derived from Irish art, the curled back jaw is assumed to be an 'abnormal trait' added in Scandinavia to the Irish prototype.¹ The Jellinge style in its turn influences Irish art and is held to be responsible for these curling jaws as well as other characteristics on the Killeshin doorway and St. Molaise's shrine.² A study of the earlier material in Ireland and Scandinavia shows the flaw in this argument. As has been seen curled jaws of various types are common on Irish metalwork of the eighth and ninth centuries and have been pointed out on many of the brooches referred to in this paper. They are well exemplified on an unlocalized brooch in the National Museum, dating to the mid-ninth century;³ they occur on the Lagore bone and stone trial pieces⁴ and on numerous mountings of the Vernacular period.⁵ On manuscripts these out-turned jaws are rarer and do not appear on the great Evangeliaries of Lindisfarne, Kells, and St. Gall where the animal heads have great variety but tend to be fiercer and more naturalistic and have none of the gentle gaiety which characterizes the crosier beasts. Animal heads like our examples do occur on lesser manuscripts of an earlier period such as the Codex Dunelm, A. 10 in Durham Cathedral Library and related works,⁶ and on the eighth-century Durham and Lichfield Gospels.⁷ They are also to be seen in the Book of Mac Durnan which dates 'perhaps from the middle or end of the 9th century'.⁸ Stone-carving does not often exhibit such heads and fierce, dragon-like monsters are the rule; curling jaws have already been noted, however, on the Killamery and Tybroughney crosses. It is significant that the type is predominant on metalwork, the medium which was most easily transported.

In Scandinavia on the other hand such an animal head makes its first appearance on the Jellinge cup and is not to be found in any of the earlier styles. Is it not then reasonable to assume that, like the other details of the style which are normally accredited to insular inspiration, the curling jaws, too, are derived from Irish art? Irish models had already been well assimilated before the date of the Jellinge cup and the source of the out-turned jaws is obvious in the many mountings of Irish origin found in ninth-century Viking graves in Norway. To recall only two examples, one may mention the mounting from the Oseberg tomb⁹ and that from Vige, Norway, fig. 17, mentioned above.

At a later stage the curling-jaw became transformed in Scandinavia into the moustache-lappet of the more developed Jellinge style and in this form returned to influence Irish ornament of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (for example pl. XL, *b*). The type of head found on some of the Killeshin animals where the upper jaw is curled downwards and inwards¹⁰ is due to this development but is totally different from the animal heads on the crosier or on St. Molaise's shrine, which are purely native in tradition.

¹ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, p. 76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³ *C.A.*, pl. 62, 3 and p. 131.

⁴ Hencken, *op. cit.*, figs. 89, 958 and 95 *a*.

⁵ For examples see *C.A.*, pls. 29, 2 and 9, 31, 3*a*, and 36, 1*a*.

⁶ Henry, 'Les Débuts de la miniature Irlandaise',

Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1951, fig. 20, *j*, *k*, *l*.

⁷ *Irish Art*, pl. 52—the beasts which form the evangelist's chair.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153. The heads are illustrated in Salin, *Thierornamentik*, p. 349—end-piece.

⁹ *Irish Art*, fig. 46, *b*.

¹⁰ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, pl. 132, 1.

Before going on to deal with the interlaced ornament of the crosier mention must be made of a motif which occurs on one panel only. That is the fret-pattern which we find on the inner crook casing (fig. 3). Unfortunately much of the panel is obliterated but from what remains of it the pattern seems to be a combination of spirals and frets such as was of fairly frequent occurrence. Examples which are quite close to the crosier pattern are to be found on the Tihilly cross and on the west cross at Monasterboice¹ as well as on the market and west crosses at Kells and on many other carvings. But there the spirals are clearly drawn and are not merely bulges as on the crosier. A closer analogy to our design appears in the ornament of an initial in the ninth-century St. Gall Priscian (904).² On metalwork there is a similar pattern on a strap-tag from one of the Dunbell raths, now in the National Museum.³ Less closely comparable to the crosier design are the frets on the early part of the Domhnach Airgid⁴ and on a fragment of a crosier preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.⁵ The last-named object which is dated to the mid-ninth century⁶ is of additional interest because the collar-knop is bordered at its lower end by a pattern of lozenges divided by vertical bars such as appears on the borders of the Kells crosier shaft-knops.

The Interlacing (figs. 3, 7, 10, 12).

Interlaced ornament of the early period occupies thirteen panels on Knop 1, eighteen on Knop 2 and also appears on the inner crook casing of the crosier and on both of the binding-strips. The shapes of the panels vary but the type of ornament remains more or less uniform, although not all the designs are treated with equal skill. The highest quality interlacing appears on Knop 2 where this type of pattern is particularly prevalent. In general appearance this knop is strikingly similar to the upper knop of St. Dympna's crosier (pl. xxxv, c). The latter knop has no animal-ornament and there is less variety in the designs than we find on the Kells shrine. As has been already pointed out St. Dympna's crosier bears a close relationship to our example but although the layout of two of its knops resembles that of the Kells crosier and many of the individual patterns correspond, the ornament is, on the whole, much less rich and varied. St. Dympna's stands as an inferior work—a poor relation of the Kells crosier and probably slightly later in date.

A triquetra with a dividing line down the centre of the strand occurs in panels 19 and 20. Simple triquetras are very common at all periods and embellishment with such a dividing line is also well known from an early date. It appears in this form on St. Dympna's crosier and forms part of the ornament of the ridge mounting of the eighth-century house-shrine known as the Loch Erne Shrine.⁷ An example from sculpture may be seen on a slab at Iniscealtra.⁸

A variation of the simple triquetra, achieved by merely doubling it, occurs on panel 27. This design is found on the Bealin cross,⁹ on St. Dympna's crosier, and on numerous examples of eighth and ninth century metalwork and illumination. It is

¹ Crawford, *op. cit.*, pl. xxx, 71 and 75.

² *Irish Art*, fig. 68, c.

³ Rather poorly illustrated in *J.R.S.A.I.* iii (1860-1) facing p. 308.

⁴ *C.A.*, pl. 117.

⁵ *C.A.*, pls. 27, 1 and 71, 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁷ *C.A.*, pl. 9.

⁸ Crawford, *op. cit.*, pl. xx, 25.

⁹ *Irish Art*, pl. 41, a—very top of shaft.

repeated several times on bone trial pieces from Lagore¹ which in their interlaced patterns present many analogies to those on the crosier. One of these pieces has already been mentioned in relation to the animal-ornament of the shrine and a correspondence in their interlaced patterns is therefore doubly interesting. The trial pieces are carved in the familiar chip-carving technique of the Vernacular period and are generally assigned to the late eighth or to the first half of the ninth century. The flat carving of the crosier designs indicates a somewhat later date, perhaps late ninth century. Several of the rectangular panels on Knop 1—20, 21, 25, and 28—have close affinities with patterns on these bones though a difference in slight details prevents complete correspondence. A simple knot-pattern which is to be found three times on the inner crook casing (fig. 3) and in slightly different form on the lowest panel of the upper binding-strip (pl. xxxi) is paralleled on one of the bones, 324. A design similar to that which fills the cross on the lower binding-strip (pl. xxxi and fig. 7), a variation of which occurs in the top panel of the upper strip, also occurs on the Lagore piece.

Among the old finds from Lagore is another bone trial piece decorated with animals and interlacing in flat carving, more shallowly cut than those mentioned above and cruder in execution.² They are perhaps a little later in date than the other bone pieces though one of the patterns³ is quite close to an earlier design.⁴ On this bone a design of pointed knotwork is similar to the pattern in panels 25 and 26, Knop 2. These panels are badly rubbed and the drawing on fig. 12 is my attempt at reconstructing the design. From what remains clearly decipherable on the crosier it could also have been reconstructed in a manner even closer to the Lagore pattern. The latter is identically paralleled on one of the panels of the north cross at Duleek.⁵ Rather similar, though less elaborate, patterns occur on panels 1, 2, 6, and 28. The ornament on the last three panels is repeated exactly on the window of St. Saviour's church at Glendalough.⁶ Another panel on this window⁷ contains the same design as that on Knop 1, 17. This correspondence of patterns on sculpture and crosier is remarkable since the Romanesque church at Glendalough is usually attributed to a date in the twelfth century. The designs are, however, extremely simple and may well have had a long life in Irish art.

Because of the irregularity of the designs, it is difficult to find exact parallels to many of the patterns on Knop 1 but that in panel 28 is merely a variation of pointed knotwork patterns such as appear on the Bealin cross⁸ and on some of the mountings from the Navan find.⁹ The interlace ornament on this knop is for the most part much cruder in execution than that of Knop 2 and would suggest an unpractised hand.

Of particular interest are the small panels of pointed oval outline on Knop 2. These are five in number and two of them contain interlaced ornaments, two are hatched vertically, and the fifth is completely obliterated. Lenticular panels with interlaced ornament such as *b* and *e* occur on the fine Anglo-Saxon brooch of silver from Beeston Tor which dates to the second half of the ninth century.¹⁰ The vertically hatched

¹ Hencken, *op. cit.*, fig. 95, A and 324.

² Wilde, *Catalogue, Animal Materials*, fig. 228.

³ *Ibid.*, fig. 242.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 234.

⁵ Crawford, *op. cit.*, pl. xxiv, 44.

⁶ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, pl. 52, 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 52, 3.

⁸ Crawford, *loc. cit.*, pl. xxii, 39.

⁹ *C.A.*, pl. 33, 7 and p. 136.

¹⁰ Illustrated in *Ant. J.* v (1925), p. 136, fig. 1 and in Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pl. LXXVIII.

panels on this knop are similar to those on two silver pins from the Talnotrie hoard¹ which has been mentioned already in connexion with the animal ornament. A date in the second half of the ninth century is also appropriate for these pins. Hatching of this type also occurs on the upper binding-strip.

The well-executed figure-of-eight interlace which fills the lowest panel on the upper binding-strip (pl. xxxi, *a*) occurs frequently on metalwork, illumination, and sculpture; it is well exemplified on the north cross at Ahenny.² The uppermost panel on the same binding-strip contains an even more familiar design found on the south cross at Ahenny³ and on the Breadalbane brooch⁴ as well as on numerous carvings and castings.

The lower panel on the lower binding-strip (pl. xxxi, *b*) carries a pattern of interrupted interlace—the only example on the crosier. Again we are dealing with a fairly common pattern which can be found on the Book of Durrow, the Book of Lindisfarne, on the south cross at Ahenny, and the Kilkieran cross.⁵

The pattern which fills the cross-shaft and arms of the lower binding-strip (pl. xxxi, *b* and fig. 7, *b*) is remarkable for the crudity and unevenness of the drawing. Numerous parallels are to be found for the exceedingly simple design. It occurs on one of the Irish objects in the St. Germain Museum and on one of the mountings from Gausel, Norway,⁶ and is similar to patterns on the crook and second knop of St. Dymphna's crosier (pls. xxxv and xxxvi). The unskilful drawing gives very much the same impression as do those panels of interlacing on the base of the Kilkieran cross where the artist seems to have 'dropped a stitch' in the design.⁷ A similar fault in the interlacing appears on the eighth-century slab at Drumhallagh, Co. Donegal.⁸ Like the crosier craftsman the artist was attempting to fill a cross with an interlace pattern, but in trying to incorporate the designs on the arms into the general theme seems to have gone astray. The type of twist which occurs on this slab and on the Carndonagh cross⁹ appears on the crosier once only—in the dexter arm of the cross on the upper binding-strip (pl. xxxi, *a*). Such simple twists went out of fashion early and the crosier example is an interesting survival. Panel 5, Knop 1 is another instance of the unskilful handling of an interlace design.

The interlaced ornament of the crosier is less well drawn than are the animal patterns and exhibits a tendency to the degeneration that appears in a more advanced state on, for example, St. Mura's crosier.¹⁰ The patterns are still closely related to those which appear on eighth-century metalwork, sculpture, and illumination, and their resemblance to the Lagore trial-piece patterns would suggest a date not too far removed from that assigned to the trial pieces. A date in the neighbourhood of 900 would agree with that suggested for the animal patterns and would perhaps account for some of the crudities in the drawing of the designs and also for the introduction of new themes such as the free loop which occurs in some of the patterns and which

¹ *P.S.A.S.* XLVII (1912-13), p. 15, fig. 4.

² Crawford, *op. cit.*, fig. 5, A.

³ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, pl. 20, 4.

⁴ *C.A.*, pl. 13, 4.

⁵ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, p. 100.

⁶ *C.A.*, pl. 25 and pl. 34—object in bottom right-hand

corner.

⁷ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, pl. 26, 2 and 3.

⁸ *Irish Art*, fig. 43.

⁹ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, fig. 59.

¹⁰ *C.A.*, pl. 90.



a. Bronze crucifixion plaque from Clonmacnoise ($\frac{1}{2}$)
(Photo. National Museum, Dublin)



b. Bronze mounting, Holy Cross Abbey ($\frac{1}{2}$)
(Photo. National Museum, Dublin)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955



a. Silver brooch from Donegal in British Museum—back (1)



b. Detail of Fejo cup
(Photo, National Museum, Copenhagen)



c. St. Cuilleán's bell-shrine—detail



d. Knop of tau crosier
(Photo, National Museum, Dublin)

would not be expected in Ireland before about that date. The poor quality of some designs may, however, be due to the shortcomings of the individual artist.

Foliage

Only one panel from the early portion of the shrine remains to be considered. This is the panel of acanthus-like foliage ornament which forms part of the cross-shaft on the upper binding-strip (fig. 8 and pl. xxxi, *a*). In common with the foliage scroll on the collar-knop this design is based on the Carolingian acanthus pattern but unlike the collar-knop where the pattern is of the later bifurcated, lobed type, here we have the pure tendril form.

Vegetable patterns are of rare occurrence in Irish Early Christian art and are usually referred to the eleventh century.¹ There are, however, a few instances of pure tendril patterns similar to that on the binding-strip for which an earlier date can be argued. Such a pattern occurs on the fragment of a bell-shrine found in the lower Bann at Aboghill, Co. Antrim.² The shrine carries an inscription requesting a prayer for Maelbrigte for whom it was made. The name is common and difficult to identify but Margaret Stokes suggests that it refers to St. Maelbrigte of Aboghill who died in 954,³ a suggestion which is considerably strengthened by the find-place. This identification has been ignored by Raftery⁴ who ascribes the fragment to the eleventh century, but Brøndsted is willing to accept the early-tenth-century dating.⁵ The earlier dating is more reasonable because the tendril pattern is still free from the band ornament of the later period which is to be seen at an early stage of its development on the shrine of St. Mura's bell.⁶ The ornament on the latter shrine has been compared by Shetelig with that on the Gaut Cross at Kirk St. Michael, Isle of Man⁷ and dated by him to 'before the middle of the tenth century'.⁸ The Bann fragment would appear stylistically to antedate St. Mura's shrine and there is therefore good reason to accept the identification of the inscription.

A closer parallel to the crosier pattern is to be found ornamenting the robe of Christ on a bronze plaque depicting the Crucifixion in the National Museum (pl. xl, *a*). This plaque has been discussed by me elsewhere⁹ and I have suggested for it a date not long after A.D. 900. The foliage is still completely pure and somewhat earlier in character than that on the Bann fragment. A very early tenth-century date is reasonable for both plaque and crosier pattern. The framework of the Clonmacnoise plaque carries an ornament of lozenges divided by vertical bars, similar to that on the borders of the shaft-knops.

Influences from Carolingian art were already making themselves felt in Ireland during the ninth century in the iconography of the High Crosses and it is not surprising to find the occasional use of the acanthus pattern appearing at a somewhat earlier date than hitherto suspected. The transmission at this period was either direct or more likely through the south of England where similar borrowings from Carolingian

¹ Brøndsted, *op. cit.*, pp. 275 ff.

² *C.A.*, pl. 36, 4a.

³ *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, 1887, p. 53.

⁴ *C.A.*, ii, 156.

⁵ Brøndsted, *op. cit.*, p. 276, footnote 1.

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⁶ *C.A.*, pl. 81.

⁷ Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, London, 1907, pl. xxx.

⁸ Shetelig, 'The Norse Style of Ornamentation in the Viking Settlements', *Acta Archaeologica*, xix (1948), 88.

⁹ *J.R.S.A.I.*, lxxxiv (1954), 36-40.

art are to be seen on ornaments in the Trewhiddle style.¹ The tendril pattern on the late-ninth-century knife from Sittingbourne² is merely a slightly more stylized version of the crosier design. Other evidences on the crosier of contacts with southern English art have been noted already and the derivation of these pure acanthus patterns from such a source is much more acceptable than would be a derivation from the restless Ringerike interlacings which undoubtedly made their way to Ireland at a later period but which differ materially from the group dealt with here.

On the continent we find pure foliage tendrils close to those of the crosier on ninth-century manuscripts of the School of Tours side by side with interlaced work derived from Irish art.³

All the ornamental motifs of Period I on the crosier comprising animal patterns, spiral, fret, interlacing, and foliage designs have now been dealt with. The comparative material has covered a wide field but, as indicated in the sections dealing with individual patterns, the weight of the evidence points to a late ninth to early tenth-century date for this period of the crosier. Some borrowings have been noted from Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian art, but the main repertoire of Period I is in the purest tradition of native art, the animal-ornament in particular showing its direct descent from that of the preceding period. The clear coherent drawing of the animal bodies and the ever-varying shapes into which they are forced by the artist are characteristic of the Irish style, still untouched by the animal-ornament of Scandinavia, which was to influence it so profoundly in the following centuries, giving new life to themes in danger of staleness and decay. The importance of the Kells crosier as a document on the later manifestation of the native style before its modification by these outside influences will be more fully discussed in the concluding chapter. Now we must deal with the second period of the shrine as represented by the collar-knop, outer crook casing, and reliquary box.

Period II

The Collar-knop

The decoration of this knop (pl. xxx) is by far the richest and most accomplished of the whole crosier and differs exceedingly from the type of ornament on the three other knops. On purely structural considerations it would appear to be later and its Scandinavian-type foliage pattern, the deeply cut technique of the design, and the use of niello and silver inlay to embellish it, set it apart from the ornament we have been considering heretofore.

The ornament of bifurcated and interlaced acanthus leaves and spirals (fig. 5) is a particularly fine example of a foliage pattern of the Ringerike style of the first half of the eleventh century. The acanthus pattern has not yet become the restless flurry of leaves and tendrils which characterizes the pure Ringerike ornament, and a date more towards the beginning of the century is most likely for the knop. Professor Shetelig has dated this pattern to the late tenth century and stressed the 'unmistakably

¹ Brondsted, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

² *Ibid.*, fig. 106.

³ For example Paris Latin 262, Berne 45, London

Addit. 37518—all illustrated in Micheli, *L'Enluminure du Haut Moyen-Âge et les Influences Irlandaises*, pls. 136, 137, and 138.

Norse character'¹ of the design but a slightly later date seems more appropriate in view of the comparative material.

The closest analogy to the foliage decoration is to be found on the well-known bone-plated box from Cammin in Germany, dated to about A.D. 1000. One of the carved plates² shows an acanthus pattern similar to ours, and the spirals on the crosier knop are comparable to those at the joints of the 'great beast'³ on the same carving. In Ireland this type of spiral (which Åberg designates as the 'shell-spiral')⁴ is found on the Killeany cross, Aran, on a pattern which, as pointed out by Dr. Henry, bears a striking resemblance to another Ringerike monument—the stone from Vang, Norway.⁵ Owing to this resemblance the cross is usually dated to the eleventh century. On metalwork in Ireland a combination of such spirals and a degenerate foliage pattern occurs on the foot of the Inisfallen crosier,⁶ also of eleventh-century date, but in my opinion dating to the end of the century. An earlier tendril pattern on Irish metalwork has already been dealt with in connexion with the first period of the shrine—the design on St. Mura's bell⁷ dated to the middle of the tenth century. The vigorous and elaborate design of the Kells knop shows the later development of such a foliage pattern and is undoubtedly the most successful and accomplished foliage ornament in Irish art. The resemblance mentioned above between the collar-knop pattern and the panel of the Cammin casket and a certain affinity also to the Ringerike designs of the Caedmon manuscript⁸ usually dated to the second quarter of the eleventh century favour an early-eleventh rather than a late-tenth-century date for the knop. A much later survival of such a pattern adorns an initial from a twelfth-century Book of Hymns in Trinity College Library, Dublin.⁹

In a recent work by a Swedish scholar, which attempts to transfer the style-creating role for Ringerike patterns from Scandinavia to England,¹⁰ a southern English source is also suggested for Irish Ringerike patterns. Though southern England may provide the inspiration for some simple tendril patterns at an earlier period as suggested above, the argument is much less convincing with regard to genuine Ringerike designs. Parallels are striking on the Scandinavian material for such elements as acanthus interlacings, moustache lappets, and shell-spirals as they exist in eleventh- and twelfth-century art in Ireland as also for the animal ornament of the Irish-Urnes style. Chronological considerations would not admit of loans at this period proceeding in the opposite direction from Ireland to Scandinavia,¹¹ and although designs such as that on the crosier undoubtedly owe a great deal to the foliage ornament of the Winchester School, their presence in Ireland may still be regarded as due to Scandinavian influence, whatever their ultimate source.

The technique of the ornament on the collar-knop deserves some comment. The use of niello with metal insets is of frequent occurrence on the later metalwork in

¹ 'The Norse Style of Ornamentation in the Viking Settlements', *Acta Archaeologica*, xix (1948), 110.

² Brøndsted, *op. cit.*, fig. 205.

³ *Ibid.*, fig. 201.

⁴ *Keltiska och orientaliska stilinflytelser i vikingatidens nordiska konst*, Stockholm, 1941, p. 52.

⁵ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, pl. 106, 2 and 4.

⁶ *C.A.*, pl. 97, 2.

⁷ *C.A.*, pl. 81, 1.

⁸ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, London, 1949, pl. LXXII.

⁹ Margaret Stokes, *op. cit.*, fig. 22 and Shetelig, *op. cit.*, fig. 36.

¹⁰ Wilhelm Holmqvist, 'Viking Art in the Eleventh Century', *Acta Archaeologica*, xiii (1951), 1-56.

¹¹ As suggested by Holmqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

Ireland, and in common with the more widespread use of silver seems to be the result of Viking influence. A technique identical with that of the collar-knop is lavishly used on the shrine of St. Cuilleán's Bell in the British Museum.¹ This shrine, whose ornament is consistent with a late-eleventh-century date, has insets of gold, and of red and yellow enamels, but prominent in the decoration are niello settings with a silver wavy line (pl. XLI, c). The Inisfallen crosier displays a similar technique in the decoration of the foot, but the metal insets in the niello are of gold, not silver. The type of embellishment persists into the twelfth century and the binding-strips of the Lis-more crosier (c. 1113) are bordered with niello bands containing a silver inlay.

The composition of the niello inlays which occur on the collar-knop and also on the inscription strip and drop of the Kells crosier has been studied by Dr. A. A. Moss of the British Museum Science Laboratory.² His report is of particular interest and so I quote it in full:

The niello on the crosier is of a different nature both from the early niello (i.e. pre-10th-century) and also from that on the Bell Shrine of St. Cuilleán, which, except for the fact that it contains no lead sulphide, corresponds with those niello mixtures made between the 11th and the 19th centuries.

In my letter of the 8th December, 1952, I expressed the opinion that the niello both in the brass knop and on the silver crook consisted of an impure silver sulphide—in other words that I did not believe the niello to contain anything like as much cuprous sulphide as does for example, the niello of the Bell Shrine which from the recent work we have done would amount to about 40%.

From a comparison of some nine synthetic mixtures of silver and cuprous sulphides with their X-ray diffraction patterns, it is now possible to say that the patterns given by the niello in the knop and in the crook correspond to mixtures of silver and cuprous sulphides containing about 25% and 15% of cuprous sulphide respectively. As a consequence of this discovery it can now be stated that the niello on the knop could, unlike the almost pure silver sulphide used before the 10th century, have been melted without decomposition and that except for the roughening of the base of the channels we have no indication as to whether the niello was applied molten or rubbed in, both being possible.

The niello on the crook containing as it does less cuprous sulphide is not so stable and a similar synthetic mixture does show some tendency to decomposition in heating, and if we take into consideration the poor adherence between this niello and the metal, the theory *might* perhaps be advanced in this case that the niello was not melted.

When we consider the marked difference in composition between the high cuprous sulphide and lead sulphide containing mixtures of the later niello and the almost pure silver sulphide which constitutes the early niello, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the niello of the Kells crosier represents a transitional period—a period of experiment between a purely 'rubbing in' technique and the application of niello in the molten condition. In this connection it should perhaps be emphasised that whereas silver sulphide and mixtures of silver sulphide and cuprous sulphide containing only a small proportion of cuprous sulphide cannot be melted owing to decomposition, all the types of niello mixtures here considered can be applied by a process of 'rubbing in'.

The technical evidence as given in the above report, while suggesting a possible difference in date between the crook and the collar-knop does not affect the precise dating of the latter. The suggestion that the niello on this knop belongs to a transitional period between pre-tenth century inlays and that of the late eleventh-century

¹ *C.A.*, pl. 83.

² The results of Dr. Moss's survey of niellos in the

British Museum are published in *Ant. J.* xxxiii (1953), 75-77.

Bell shrine is in keeping with the stylistic evidence. The implications of this report with regard to the dating of the crook and inscription will be discussed below.

Animal patterns occur in the triangular panels which flank the spirals and in the stepped panels which form the collar of the knop. Four patterns only occur (fig. 6) as each design is repeated with only very minor alterations on two panels, and all the animal forms closely resemble one another. The animal forms show considerable similarity to those of the shaft knops which suggests that the later artist's work was inspired by that of the earlier and that some attempt was made to achieve a uniformity of style in the zoomorphic ornament. Certain differences, however, occur which denote a later work. The heads of the animals are still of the same form as those of the early period, though here there is a distinct tendency to lengthen the upper jaw, a feature which is even more pronounced on the much later animal forms of the Lismore crosier. On the animals which occur in the triangular patterns the paws have completely disappeared and the tails of two of the creatures end in a leaf—a feature not met with on any of the early panels. The designs are in general stiffer and less lively than those of the shaft-knops and no exact parallels for the attitude of the beasts are forthcoming.

The interlace panels are in the main very simple designs which by themselves would not be readily datable. Panels 1 and 3 contain a design which can be paralleled on the ninth-century Bealin cross, but the ornament in panel 6 is identical with that which is repeated over and over again on the Lismore crosier.¹ A pattern such as that on panel 2, which consists of three loops linked together, would generally be regarded as a late feature.

The Crest and Reliquary-Box

The elegantly executed openwork crest (pl. xxvii and fig. 4) of the crosier presents an intriguing problem. At first glance it seems to be a product of that early period in Irish art when the birds of the Northumbrian vine-scroll were adopted and transformed into the fantastic interlacements so dear to the Celtic artist.² Stylistically the nearest relatives of the birds on the crest, with their intertwined necks and the interlacing of their split tail-feathers, are to be found on such eighth-century works as the Book of Lindisfarne, the Aberlady cross,³ and closer still the pail mounting from Sondre, Norway.⁴ But we find this crest ornamenting the outer silver casing of the crosier which is undoubtedly a late feature added after the inner crook casing had been mutilated. Combined with it are human and animal heads and a reliquary-box with openwork ornament, all of which appear to have been added at the same time and which seem to belong to the eleventh century. There are two explanations possible for this anomaly—either the bird-ornament of the cresting was removed from an earlier crosier and adapted to its present use or, a more reasonable hypothesis, the design is a conscious imitation of an early motif.

Structurally it seems quite clear that the outer silver casing and associated ornament were added at the same time as the collar-knop. If, as has been suggested above, the

¹ *C.A.*, pl. 93, 3.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. 28, b.

² See *Irish Art*, pp. 80 ff., for a full discussion of the process.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 31, d.

knop originally possessed a stepped border at the upper end also, this border would have fitted over the silver plates of the crook concealing the soldering—a function which is now fulfilled by the frilled bronze strip. The inscription strip which covers the join of the two silver plates underneath the crook was doubtless added at the same time and the human head which ornaments this inscription strip is quite in character with the general ornament.

Openwork crestings of this kind are a common feature of the later crosiers; they do not occur on the few known earlier examples, but as the early crosiers are usually in a very incomplete condition this is not a conclusive argument. The openwork border of the drop is to be found exactly paralleled on St. Mura's crosier, the Inisfallen crosier, the Dysert O'Dea crosier, and on an unlocalized example in the National Museum.¹ On the last three crosiers it is combined with a human head at the top of the drop. Unfortunately many of these heads are so worn by handling as to be almost completely indistinguishable, and the well-preserved example on the Inisfallen crosier does not resemble that on the Kells drop. Perhaps the closest parallels are the two heads which adorn the cresting of St. Cuilleán's bell shrine (pl. XLI, c). These also are beardless, have the hair indicated by ridging, and wear the enigmatic expression of the head on the crosier. Another fairly close comparison is the head on the inside of the crook of the Lismore crosier.²

The occurrence of niello with a silver inlay at the front of the drop suggests its association with the collar-knop. As will be seen from Dr. Moss's report (p. 100 above) there is a slight difference in composition between the inlay here and that on the collar-knop. The difference, however, is not very pronounced and both types could have been applied by a similar 'rubbing-in' process—that indeed they were is suggested by the fact that the channels in both cases have been roughened. Even if it were accepted that the niello here is slightly earlier than that of the collar-knop, it would not in any case be as early as the eighth-century dating stylistically appropriate for the crest. The bronze reliquary-box and its ornamental casing are quite definitely later additions to the crook, and it is more than likely that they were added at the same time as the collar-knop. The degenerate foliage pattern on the underneath of the drop is also consistent with an eleventh-century date. The difference in the niello may be due to the transitional experimental stage postulated by Dr. Moss or perhaps to the fact that it is here inlaid in silver and is in bronze on the knop. The niello on the drop and in the inscription strip are identical, and as will be seen below the inscription is also in favour of an eleventh-century date.

It may, however, be easily argued that the outer casing of the reliquary-box which is fairly certainly eleventh-century in date is not all in one piece with the bird cresting of the crook and may have been made to fit on to it at a later stage. This is not the case with the animal head which terminates the cresting at the lower end just above the collar-knop and which is clearly all one with the cresting. This type of head with acanthus moustache and lappet is common on antiquities decorated in the Ringerike style and, in Ireland is generally referred to an eleventh-century date. A fine example quite similar to that on the crosier is to be seen on the shrine known as 'the Misach'³

¹ *C.A.*, pls. 90, 89, 92, and 86.

² *C.A.*, pl. 94.

³ *C.A.*, pl. 129.



a. Head of St. Mel's crozier



b. Head of 'The Boughal' crozier
(Photo. National Museum, Dublin)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955

associated with animal ornament and foliage of pure Ringerike type dating to the first half of the eleventh century. The end of the crest of the Dysert O'Dea crosier terminates like our example in a head of slightly more developed type¹ and the later more elaborate form may be seen on the Lismore crosier crest² and on the animal heads at either side of the British Museum bell. The closest parallel to the Kells animal head appears on the crook of a crosier (pl. XLII, *b*) known as 'The Boughal' from Fore Abbey Co. Westmeath, now in the National Museum. This crosier crook is very much damaged and retains only the merest traces of panels of ornament, the remainder presumably having been filed away much in the manner of the inner crook of Kells. The crest, also very much damaged, is cast in one piece with the crook and consists of a row of barely distinguishable birds' heads and the remains of animals such as appear on the Dysert O'Dea cresting. It terminates at the front in a very worn human head and the outer end in an animal head resembling ours. In the absence of most of the ornament it is difficult to date this crosier accurately. The style of the animal head is earlier than the Dysert O'Dea example (late eleventh century) and the crook in general with its attached crest would seem to be earlier than the more elaborate examples with detachable ornament. Late tenth to early eleventh century is a reasonable suggestion. No parallels are forthcoming at an earlier date for such an animal head.

We are thus more or less forced to conclude that the cresting, despite its early affinities, is of eleventh-century date and is a striking example of the imitation of an earlier motif. Birds with intertwined necks and heads exactly similar to those on the crosier are to be found at about the year A.D. 1000 on two bronze stirrup-plates from Velds, Jutland, and believed by Brøndsted to be southern English work.³ They are associated with acanthus ornament not too far removed from that of the collar-knop.

The inscription strip also belongs to Period II of the crosier, but since its importance is historical and not ornamental it is more appropriate to leave it to be dealt with separately and to deal now with the remaining period of the crosier ornament.

Period III

The Foot

In general layout, material, and ornament the foot of the shrine (pl. XXVIII, *c*) differs completely from the other parts of the crosier. It is made of a dark reddish bronze similar to that of the thick repair strip under the collar-knop, and it is possible that the foot and the repair strip were added at the same time.

The upper swollen portion is divided into panels by bands of silver inlay in exactly the same manner as the central knop of the Lismore crosier. The two ornamented panels contain an exceedingly degenerate pattern of animal-ornament again of silver inset in the bronze (pl. XXXIV, and fig. 18). A very close analogy to this portion of the foot is provided by the one remaining knop of the tau crosier in the National Museum (pl. XLI, *d*). Here the layout of the panels is identical with those on the Kells crosier foot, and the dividing bands are of silver inset in bronze. The ornament is likewise

¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 92.

² *Ibid.*, pl. 94.

³ *Op. cit.*, fig. 191.

a degenerate type of interlace with occasional traces of animal features and hints of ragged foliage. A more coherent rendering of such a pattern is found on a bronze mounting possibly for a book-cover from Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary (pl. XL, *b*). The design on the mounting consists of a cross with a central setting and a foliage

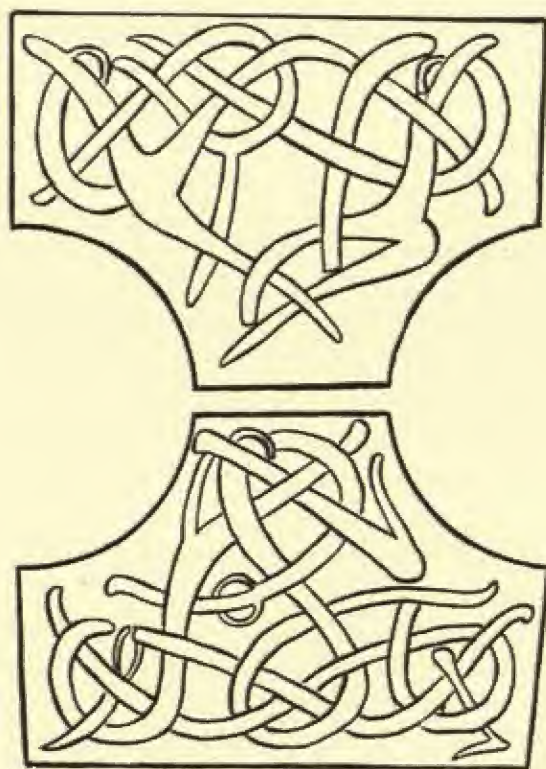


FIG. 18. The Kells crosier: pattern from foot (f)

pattern of Romanesque character. The four panels in the angles of the cross contain the animal interlace. The design is distinctly Scandinavian in character and the openwork nature of the pattern is an excellent example of the Irish-Urnes style related to that on the Aghadoe crosier.¹ The mounting and also the tau crosier and the foot of the Kells crosier with their related openwork designs would therefore appear to date to the late eleventh century or possibly to the early years of the twelfth.

THE INSCRIPTION²

The inscription (pl. XXIX) carried on a silver strip attached to the inner curve of the crook reads OR[OIT] DO CONDUILIG³ OCUS DO MELFINNEN—a prayer for Cúduilig and for Maelfinnén. It is incised in silver and inlaid with niello and the characters are of the ordinary Irish majuscule (half-uncial) form.⁴ This inscription has already been

¹ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, London, 1949, pl. LXXXI.

² I am grateful to the Rev. Professor Shaw, S.J. for helpful advice in connexion with the inscription and to the Rev. Professor Ryan, S.J. who has kindly supplied the historical information used in this chapter.

³ Con for C[h]oin.

⁴ I am indebted to Dr. Ludwig Bieler who has examined the inscription from a palaeographical viewpoint. He informs me that, although slightly different from the majuscule of the manuscripts, the few words of the inscription can give no palaeographical clue for dating.

published several times and various suggestions have been made as to the identification of the persons named. Petrie illustrates it but reads it erroneously as OR OIT DO CONDUILIG OCUS DO MELFINNEIN¹ a reading also given by Margaret Stokes.² Macalister corrects this rendering³ to the form given above.

The most usual identification of Maelfinnén is with the 'Maelfinnen, son of Uchtan, bishop of Cenannus (Kells) and successor of Ultan and Cairnech' (in other words abbot of Ardraccan and Dulane) whose death is recorded in the Annals under the year 969.⁴ It is reasonable to suppose that this Maelfinnén, a bishop and an abbot,⁵ is the person referred to on the crosier, and this identification has been generally accepted. The name Cúduilig is of fairly frequent occurrence and has been variously identified, but he is most generally accepted to be the Cúduilig whose death is recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters for the year 1047—Cúduilig, son of Gaithne, Fosaircinneach of Cenannus, died.⁶ The difference in date between these identifications of Maelfinnén and Cúduilig is surprising and a suggestion has been made⁷ that Cúduilig was the Cúduilig, son of Dubhlach, Lord of Fir Tulach, whose death took place in 979.⁸ Such an identification is, however, very unlikely, and this is hardly the person sought, as Fir Tulach, corresponding with the present barony of Fertullagh, east of Lough Ennel, Co. Westmeath, had no known connexion with Kells and this Cúduilig was a minor personage in the army of Melsechlainn II, king of Ireland. The previous suggestion is much more acceptable since the *fos aircinneach* or vice-erenagh was an important person in Kells and is frequently mentioned in the charters with the *comharba* (abbot), the *sagart* (priest), and *ferlegind* (lector).⁹ The erenaghs or vice-erenaghs were stewards of the monastery and trustees of the land and frequently the keepers of reliquaries.

The coincidence of two names relating to a single monastery cannot be ignored despite the difference in dates, and in this connexion it is important to recall that the shrine is of several periods. We have seen that the early portion of the shrine would most easily fit into a late ninth to early tenth-century date. Without any distortion of the stylistic evidence it is possible to advance this date a little and to suggest that the first enshrining of the crosier took place during the bishopric of Maelfinnén who died in 969. We would then have for Period I a date approaching the middle of the tenth century—a date which has the advantage of helping to reconcile the late ninth century elements in the decoration with some features which persist as we have seen to a later date.

Let us now consider Cúduilig, who died in 1047. The collar-knop, outer crook casing, and reliquary-box can be dated to the early eleventh century on stylistic

¹ *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, Dublin, 1872, ii, 116, and fig. 100.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

³ *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*, Dublin, 1949, ii, 38.

⁴ *Annals of Ulster*, 968 (recte 969), 'Maelfinnen Mac Uchtan, epscop Cenannsa ⁊ comarba Ultan ⁊ Cairnigh . . . pausaverunt.' *Annals of the Four Masters*, 967 (recte 969), 'Maolfindein mac Uchtain, epscop Cenannsa, comharba Ulltain ⁊ Cairnigh, . . . décc.'

⁵ According to Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 65, 'In the tenth and

following centuries the families of Ua hUchtain and Ua Cluain furnished successively a large proportion of the chief officers of this church' i.e. Kells.

⁶ Cúduilig, mac Gaithne fos aircinneach Cenannsa décc.

⁷ O'Laverty, *U.F.A.*, ix (1861), 54.

⁸ *Annals of the Four Masters*, 978 (recte 979), 'Torcatar bheós hi frithghuin an catha braon Fiachna ⁊ Cúduilich, dhá mhac Dubhlaich, dá tighearna Fear Tulach.'

⁹ J. O'Donovan, 'The Irish Charters in the Book of Kells', *The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, i (1846), 127-58.

grounds. Is it not possible that the repair and readornment of the shrine were seen to by Cúduilig, vice-erenagh of the monastery? And, having done so, what more reasonable than that he should add an inscription (perhaps replacing an earlier one) requesting a prayer for himself and for Maelfinnén, the former prelate and original enshriner of the staff? This hypothesis provides a valuable linking of the inscription with the two main stylistic periods of the shrine, a linking which adds considerable weight to the identifications of Cúduilig and Maelfinnén suggested above.

Another possibility must, however, be recorded. In the recently published edition of the *Annals of Inisfallen*,¹ available in complete form for the first time, the following entries occur for the year 1039—'Maelfinniaie, bishop of Imblech Ibair (Emly), rested in Christ' and for the same year 'Death of Cúduilig Hui Donnchada, royal heir of Caiseal'.² Maelfinniaie is merely a different form of Maelfinnén, and this and other variations are applied indiscriminately in the literature to the same person. We thus have a Cúduilig and Maelfinnén who are contemporary and who, in fact, died in the same year. The diocese of Emly had many contacts with Cashel and it would not be surprising to find an inscription connecting the royal household with the monastery. Stylistically there is no difficulty since we have argued that the inscription was added in the first half of the eleventh century. The possibility must therefore be borne in mind that the crosier belonged to the monastery of Emly and not to that of Kells. However, there are objections which weaken the case for the Emly identification. Although it is not infrequent to find the names of secular princes together with those of ecclesiastical dignitaries on such inscriptions, the names of such princes are usually qualified either by the addition of the surname or by a title and frequently by both.³ Furthermore it would be surprising to find a secular lord commemorated on a shrine so personal as a crosier and so much the symbol of ecclesiastical authority, and to find his name given precedence on the inscription. Therefore, although this identification cannot be completely ignored it is not very attractive. In the absence of any further information connecting Cúduilig, prince of Cashel, more specifically with Emly, I prefer to adhere to the earlier ascription and to regard the crosier as belonging to the Columban monastery. The fact that the two related crosiers St. Dymrna's and St. Mel's have also a Midland provenance adds weight to this opinion.

CONCLUSION

The body of the evidence as derived from structural and stylistic features and from the inscription has now been presented in detail. Before proceeding to a more general discussion, our conclusions as to the different periods represented in the crosier as it now exists may be set out in tabular form.

?: Yew staff.

Late 9th–early 10th century: Period I comprising inner crook casing, shaft casing, shaft knops 1, 2, and 3, binding-strips.

¹ *Annals of Inisfallen*, Edited Seán Mac Airt, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1951.

² 'Maelfinniaie, *epscop Imblecha Ibair, quieuit in Christo*' and 'Mors Con Duilig Hui Donnchada rigdomna Laigen'.

³ For examples see Petrie, *loc. cit.*, for the inscriptions

on the Cross of Cong, Tuam cross, St. Patrick's Bell shrine, the Cathach, etc. These inscriptions are, however, all of later date which may possibly account for the presence of surnames.

Early 11th century: Period II comprising collar-knop, outer silver crook casing, crest and reliquary-box, inscription strip.

Late 11th-early 12th century: Foot or ferrule.

?: Repairs to inscription strip and binding-strip. Addition of frilled bronze strip and thick red-bronze repair strip.

Many reliquaries of the Irish Early Christian Church benefited from the custom of hereditary keepership¹ and remained through successive generations in the hands of one family until acquired by museums in the nineteenth or twentieth century. It is therefore particularly unfortunate that nothing is known of the early history of the Kells crosier. Apart from the inscription we have no clue to its provenance and all knowledge is denied us as to how this—one of the finest examples known—found its way from Ireland to a London house. Whether the inscription really refers to the ecclesiastics of Kells will perhaps never be definitely established, but so it has come to be accepted and this association is of especial interest in view of the other remains of Early Christian art connected with that monastery. Let us regard the crosier against this background.

Kells seems to have been a flourishing art centre from the time that the Columban monks came there after the destruction of Iona by the Vikings in the first years of the ninth century.² The major achievement—the famous gospel-book—is now generally accepted as having been written mainly at Iona,³ but it was probably completed at Kells and is, in any case, a product of the same school of art. The stone-roofed building known as St. Columba's House, which is still to be seen at Kells, is thought to have been built in the early ninth century to house the Columban relics transferred from Iona.⁴ Sculpture flourished in the ninth and tenth centuries, and in the churchyard at Kells are the remains of three carved high crosses, and to their number must be added the fine high cross now in the market-place. The round tower in the churchyard is probably of similar date.

In metalwork, apart from the crosier, the monastery is represented by the famous book-shrine known as the '*Cathach*' of the O'Donnells,⁵ so called because it was made to contain a copy of the psalters which was carried into battle (*cath*) by that family—the hereditary keepers. The inscription of the '*Cathach*' refers to Domhnall Mac Robartach—abbot of Kells 1062-98 and to Sitric Mac Mic Aeda who made the shrine, and its dating to the late eleventh century is well established.⁶ The name Mac Aeda occurs also in one of the charters written into the Book of Kells, where it is qualified by the word *cerd*—artisan or metalworker.⁷ Thus we see that in the eleventh century Kells was capable of producing an elaborate metalwork object and that it was made by one of a family of artisans.

It is more than a little tempting therefore to see in the crosier an earlier product of this hereditary school of metalworking, all the more so because of the different periods in the crosier's decoration which suggest that it belonged to a monastery where the

¹ For discussion of this institution see *C.A.*, ii, 52.

² Henry, *Irish Art*, p. 125, footnote 1 gives references from the Annals to the gradual transference of the monastery from Iona to Kells.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁴ *Annals of Ulster*, 848.

⁵ *C.A.*, pl. 113 and 114.

⁶ Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions* . . . , ii, 92.

⁷ Gilbert, *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland*, Dublin, 1874-84, vol. ii, pl. LX, and J. O'Donovan, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

artistic tradition flourished over a considerable length of time. Presumably many other reliquaries, products of this school, have been lost and destroyed, but the crosier is a splendid representative of the high technical skill and artistry of the workers in metal, and as such is worthy to rank with the best achievements on other media. We know from an entry in the *Annals of Ulster* for the year A.D. 1007 that the Book of Kells was still preserved at the monastery in that year, and must have served as an inspiration to all the artists who were privileged to study the astonishing variety and wealth of its ornament.

In view of these fairly extensive remains connected with Kells, which probably represent only a little of the artistic output, and all of which date between the years 900 and 1100, it is surprising to find recorded in the annals no less than twelve Viking attacks on the monastery during this time. The terrifying accounts are repeated time and again—Ceanannus plundered, Ceanannus profaned, Ceanannus burned. But despite the recurring catastrophes, enduring monuments of stone were carved which bear witness to the remarkable powers of recovery of the artists of the monastery. And these were not inferior works, but excellent in execution and design—the Cross of Patrick and Columba has indeed been described as ‘one of the loveliest of the Irish crosses’.¹ It must remain conjectural as to whether metalworking continued to the same extent, because obviously shrines and precious relics in bronze, silver, and gold would have been the first prey of the pagan attackers and the graves of Norway with their numerous mountings ripped from sacred objects bear witness to the greed of the invaders. Some of the damage done to the crosier may indeed be the result of a Viking raid, and one might possibly refer the two main periods of work on our shrine to two lulls in the storm, since no raid is recorded at Kells between the years 918 and 949 nor between 1018 and 1036. But this, of course, is mere hypothesis.

Whatever the milieu in which it was made, Period I of the crosier is a product of an atmosphere steeped in the best traditions of Irish art. The native character of the ornament has been stressed already, and almost every design of the considerable repertoire is a development of patterns frequently met with in metalwork, manuscript, and sculpture of the Vernacular period. The relationship with the late-ninth-century brooches is striking, and it is clear that at the period in question Church and lay art were still closely connected.² This is further borne out by the comparisons with the material from Lagore. The crosier might almost be a product of the same workshop as that evidenced by the trial pieces of an earlier century found at the royal dwelling. The bone trial pieces may have been used in castings of just such a type as the crosier panels, and one can visualize the monks of Kells when first establishing their workshop comparing patterns and techniques with the neighbouring artisans. Although this similarity cannot be pushed too far as evidence of locality, because, as we have seen, the comparative material is found at many widely removed parts of the country, nevertheless the close relationship with the Lagore finds tends to strengthen the argument for a Meath provenance.

¹ *Irish Art*, p. 175.

² In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there is an extraordinary absence of secular objects—the artisans seem to

have been entirely dependent on the patronage of the Church—see *C.A.*, ii, 41.

Outside influences are few on the early period of the crosier ornament, but they show that this essentially Irish art circle was not averse to minor borrowings from Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian sources. Such an ability to adopt and transform exotic elements was always a characteristic of the Columban school, and has been remarked on, not only in the great Evangelary but also on the sculptured crosses.¹ Opportunities for the necessary contacts with England and the continent were provided by the constant travels of the monks, and although the main stream of influence during the ninth century was outwards from Ireland,² there must have been a considerable amount of coming and going—quite enough to account for some new fashions finding their way in beside traditional themes.

But the chief importance of this first period of the Kells crosier is its dating to the early tenth century providing for this period a major work in metal hitherto absent, and virtually constituting the 'type' of the native Irish tenth-century style. No one will deny that the Viking raids mark a falling-off in the elaborate techniques of the Vernacular period artists, and the centuries of war with the Norsemen show the disappearance of filigree and millefiori and a very rare use of enamels—and those of inferior quality. As pointed out by Dr. Henry 'the efforts of the Irish artists were concentrated on the most lasting of all arts, that of carving on stone'.³ But if the exquisite delicacy of the eighth- and early ninth-century metalwork had disappeared and the main achievements of the period were the monumental stone carvings, it must not be thought for a moment that there is a break in the native metalwork tradition. Changes in technique came about, some due to the instability of the times and some due to a change in fashion also visible on the sculptured monuments.

The ninth- and tenth-century brooches of Hiberno-Viking type (e.g. *C.A.*, pl. 39) do not come into the story as they are of undoubted Scandinavian inspiration and stand apart from the native style. The northern influences which characterize these brooches did not make themselves felt on ecclesiastical art until after about 1000, when they affect and transform the native style in sculpture and metalwork. An increase in the use of silver which first becomes apparent on the native metalwork of the ninth century is perhaps due to Viking influence, but whether this metal was brought from abroad by Viking merchants or obtained from native mines is a matter for conjecture.⁴

In discussing the ornament of the crosier we have remarked on the tendency to divide up surfaces into panels, as distinct from the wandering over-all character of the earlier art. A possible source for this fashion is the Trewhiddle style of southern England, but it is significant that a similar development is visible on the crosses of the ninth and tenth centuries. Although this panel arrangement continued to be used in metalwork until the twelfth century, as, for example, on the Lismore crosier, the borders become much more unobtrusive and cease to give the impression of frames for portrait-animals or a specific interlace design. Bold panelling also tends to fade out on the crosses from the eleventh century on.

The absence of chip-carving, hatching, and of the fine filigree work of the eighth

¹ *Irish Art*, pp. 142 ff. and p. 175.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 157 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁴ Ó Ríordáin, 'Recent Acquisitions from Co. Donegal

in the National Museum', *P.R.I.A.*, xlii (1935), 180 ff. discusses the matter in connexion with Viking silver ornaments.

century is consistent with the development of sculpture where a bolder, more clear-cut design in flat carving takes the place of the former minute intricacy. Tenth-century metalwork as we now define it has firmness and verve in the animal ornament and depends for its effect on the imaginative and skilful arrangement of the animal bodies and their lively and cheerful personality rather than in exquisite delicacy of embellishment pursued to infinite lengths. Filigree work returned in the eleventh century, e.g. on the Inisfallen crosier (though not in the perfection of the earlier technique) but is quite foreign to the tenth-century style,¹ where coating with silver as on the Kells crosier or gold as on St. Mel's is the sole method of enriching the original casting. Some of the interlacing panels on the crosier show an astonishing incompetency, and this degeneration in interlacing is a feature of the style which is even more pronounced on St. Mel's crosier (pl. XLII, *a*).

There is thus certainly a change in character and to some extent a decline in execution, but there is far from a cessation in metalworking in the late ninth and tenth centuries. The 'hiatus' which appeared to exist between the products of eighth-century virtuosity and the great revival of effort in the eleventh and twelfth centuries has now very much less reality. For together with the Kells shrine this tenth-century style must include related works such as St. Dymphna's crosier and St. Mel's, indubitably of the same family though of a lesser degree of excellence, and also fairly certainly a portion of St. Molaise's shrine. Add to these the brooches we have mentioned in dealing with the ornament and there is a respectable body of material.² This is only reasonable, for if all native metalworking disappeared, from whence came the basis of the later styles? It may be argued that native art survived on stone-carving, but the very function of the crosses of this period—that of illustrating the scriptures—inevitably separated their style from that of metal and their ornamental panels, though they have elements in common with those on metalwork, follow a somewhat different fashion. Despite the strong Scandinavian accent in the products of the twelfth-century Renaissance there is much that is native and traditional—in direct descent from Vernacular art. Our tenth-century style provides the necessary link.

The form of the animal heads which gives so much of its character to this gallery of fantastic beasts has been discussed above. The native origin which has been argued there for this type of curling-jawed creature is of importance in connexion with this continuity. As we have seen, this type of animal head already existed in eighth-century Irish metalwork and penetrated to Scandinavia to form one of the characteristics of the Jellinge beast. More important for the present question is that it lived on in Ireland, becoming a fundamental element in this tenth-century style and continuing in logical development into the eleventh and twelfth centuries, where it occurs on the Inisfallen and Lismore crosiers. On these and other later works, however, the animal heads have more variety and sometimes exhibit the snout-lappet of Scandinavian inspiration.

¹ Filigree panels occur on St. Molaise's shrine but are quite independent of the animal patterns and are probably later.

² The Prosperous Crosier (*C.A.*, pls. 73, 5 and 74) almost certainly belongs to the tenth century though con-

siderably later than our example. The unique character of its ornament, some of which is Norse influenced and similar to that on the Manx crosses, demands for it separate consideration.

Thus we see that the tradition of metalworking continued during the late ninth and tenth centuries in Ireland. For the most part it lived on, on a minor scale, on brooches and less lavish ecclesiastical works, but when the occasion demanded it the artists of the time were capable of a major work of great richness and variety as witnessed by the early part of the Kells crosier. Even before the addition of the outer crook casing, crest, and the present collar-knop the crosier must have been a splendid object, whose effect was achieved by the grace and restraint of the general design, punctuated by the varied patterns of the knops, the many facets of which displayed a rich intermingling of silver and golden-bronze.

A word must be said of the shape of the Kells crosier which conforms to the usual type characteristic of the Early Irish church, and which is quite distinct from the continental form. As is well known, this difference is due to the fact that these Irish crosiers were first and foremost shrines containing the wooden staffs of early saints, although they were also used as symbols of episcopal authority.¹ The custom of enshrining the staffs of ecclesiastics goes back to an early date in the Irish church and is evidenced by some few surviving fragments of eighth-century crosiers² as well as by accounts in the literature.³ Their importance as part of the insignia of ecclesiastics is clear from the numerous representations of figures carrying these shrines (sometimes also with book-shrines and bells) which occur on stone-carvings, metalwork, and manuscripts of the Early Christian period.⁴ The peculiarly Irish type of crosier continued to be made until the twelfth century to which time dates one of the most elaborate examples—the Lismore crosier, but the eleventh and twelfth centuries were to a great extent periods of re-enshrining when old and damaged shrines were replaced by new workmanship, a fact which partly accounts for the small number available from the earlier centuries. Although no example of a continental-type crosier dating before about the late twelfth or early thirteenth century is known from Ireland, evidence of their introduction is to be seen on some representations of an earlier date. The figure on the drop of the Irish-type Clonmacnoise crosier, whose decoration dates it to the late eleventh century, carried a crosier of the continental crook type,⁵ indicating that although staff-shrines continued to be venerated at this time they had been replaced as episcopal symbols of authority by the richly ornamented pastoral crook—no longer a shrine. The latter type is also depicted on the base of the eleventh-century cross at Dysert O'Dea.⁶ It is of interest to note that St. Mel's crosier, which, as we have seen, is closely related to period I of the Kells shrine, has on the drop a figure holding a crosier, this time, however, of the native Irish form.⁷

The great outburst of readornment and re-enshrinement of reliquaries, which took place in the eleventh century, was responsible, as we have seen, for the work on the second period of the Kells crosier. The lavish and beautifully executed collar-knop with its exotic foliage pattern is indicative of the trends in Irish metalwork in the first

¹ See *C.A.*, ii, 57 for a full discussion of the Irish type of crosier.

² *Irish Art*, p. 116 and *C.A.*, pl. 91, 3.

³ Margaret Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 83 for reference from the Book of Armagh to enshrinement of saint's staff.

⁴ Ahenny cross, Banagher pillar, Muiredach's cross

Monasterboice, Shrine of the Stowe Missal, Mac Durnan Gospels—to mention but a few examples.

⁵ *C.A.*, pl. 88.

⁶ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, pl. 100.

⁷ *C.A.*, pl. 76.

decades after 1000. Here we see how, with the decline in their political power, the Vikings begin to assume artistic sway and succeed for the first time in penetrating through the barriers of religious prejudice, to influence the hitherto strictly closed realm of ecclesiastical art. At the same period a similar influence is seen on sculpture, and we may repeat what Dr. Henry has said of the contemporary carvings—'Les emprunts à l'art scandinave sont plus curieux encore . . . L'art irlandais pendant les IX^e et X^e siècles semble n'avoir rien emprunté à l'art scandinave et s'être cantonné soit dans des modèles traditionnels, soit dans l'imitation d'œuvres carolingiennes. Ce n'est que très tard qu'après avoir prêté il commence à emprunter à son tour.'¹ The crosier knop is one of the best examples of this borrowing. But, as we have seen, the Scandinavian pattern is not the only element in the collar-knop decoration, and here as on other works of the period we find details and motifs derived undeniably from the ornament of the north, but still side by side with the native forms.

At a later stage native and foreign elements were to become inextricably mixed. And perhaps it is the fact that the collar-knop belongs to the transitional stage that accounts for the particular charm and success of the ornament. For here there is no foreign style of animal-ornament to clash with the earlier work on the shrine, but rather a new motif introduced with the utmost delicacy and incorporating in its scheme animal patterns still native and traditional, even if lacking the liveliness of those on the other knops. Silver foil is missing from the panels of this knop, but an even more sumptuous effect is obtained by the use of niello and silver inlay and the deeply cut character of the design.

The ornament of the cresting raises quite different problems, and we are here presented with the rather extraordinary spectacle of the eleventh-century artisan making a deliberate copy of an archaic pattern. Where was his model, to what did he owe his inspiration? All that can be postulated is the existence in the monastery, either on manuscript or on metal, of a design from the Vernacular period which the later craftsman adapted with unusual audacity to the work of readorning the crosier. Openwork crestings of birds or animals are common—the Prosperous crosier has a row of ducks—but the closest affinities of the pattern on the Kells shrine are undeniably with eighth-century ornament. In other respects, the outer crook casing, crest, and reliquary-box² are splendid examples of early-eleventh-century style, the refinement of the artist's taste being particularly noticeable in the restraint of the unornamented silver crook casing which acts as a foil for the collar-knop and cresting. This and the Prosperous crosier are the only examples known with unornamented crooks, and it is singularly fortunate that the outer covering should have been added to the Kells crosier at a period when the metalworker was still alive to the power of simplicity and not impelled by excess of zeal to burden the crook with a meaningless jumble of ornament.

Though added at a still later period the graceful tapering foot with its ornament of silver inlay fits in equally well with the decorative scheme. The general effect is exceedingly pleasing to the eye and it is a tribute to the skill of successive generations of artists that the crosier as it now stands, although a product of several periods, is an artistic whole.

¹ *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, p. 185.

² Added to contain additional relics which were, however, lost or stolen.

The study of this single object has led to a wide range of inquiry in different fields, and as an archaeological document it demonstrates in itself a considerable chapter in Irish history—a chapter recording many terrors, but when, nevertheless, the artists of the time pursued their traditional occupations, ceaselessly evolving and elaborating patterns and techniques and lavishing their genius on objects of piety. That the valued products of their workshops were subject to theft and destruction is shown by the damage done to the crosier, and the broken and defaced shrine suggests a whole history of sudden onslaught, death, and fire and pillage. The recovery after these waves of terror is equally apparent in the care and beauty of the later repairs, enhanced by borrowings from the art of the invaders whose power was now broken. And so this product of the early middle ages, adorned with patient care for the glory of God and to honour the relics of a saint, in a monastic workshop, has survived to evoke the admiration of succeeding generations.

But apart from its value as an historical document and its important role in the art of the tenth and eleventh centuries in Ireland, the Kells crosier demands attention for its own sake, as a work of art, eminently satisfying in general aspect, and, in the details of its varied ornament, a constant source of interest and delight.

Medieval Copper Champlévé Enamelled Images of the Virgin and Child¹

By Dr. W. L. HILDBURGH, F.S.A.

IN the group of images in the round with which this study is primarily concerned, the Virgin Mary is represented enthroned and holding the Child Christ on her left knee. He usually is seated, but sometimes stands. Two distinct methods of construction appear in these images: in one, a carved wooden core is overlaid with thin, but stiffish, sheets of copper shaped to conform closely to the surface of the carving; in the other, the image is constituted of stout sheets of copper beaten into shape and is hollow. It may be presumed that the craftsmen who made these images were heirs respectively of two separate traditions—one, that of sheathing a wooden core with metal; the other, that of applying metal figures in relief upon a champlévé enamelled surface. The images of both types are enriched with champlévé enamels. Perhaps some of the wooden-cored ones were sheathed to keep them from disintegration through decay or the ravages of worms, because of the special veneration in which they were currently held, but there are a number whose cores look to have been carved with an immediate view to employment as foundations for their present metallic casings. Most of the images, whether cored or coreless, would seem to have been made in the same region, and conceivably by one lot of workshops fairly closely associated with each other.

These objects have, with but few exceptions, consistently been attributed to the copper-working craftsmen of Limoges or of its immediate vicinity. I, however, am very strongly inclined to believe that much of our present available evidence (admittedly all circumstantial) points to Spain—perhaps to one or two particular regions of Spain—as their source, rather than to any region of her northern neighbour.

The Madonna-image reproduced in pl. XLIII *a* (front), *b* (back), pl. XLIV *b* (side), and *a, c, d* (details), may well serve as an introduction to our discussion of its type. Itself a distinguished representative of the copper-sheathed Madonna-images, it is on the one hand closely associable with a number of other Madonnas very similar in style and in details, constructed in the same way and of about the same size; and on the other

¹ It is pleasant to record here the courtesy, from institutions as well as from persons individually, with which my requests for information in connexion with the present memoir invariably have been granted. I feel that in this prefatory note I should, in addition, express in more general terms than those of the specific acknowledgements in the relevant parts of my text, my appreciation of the exceptional facilities, for the handling and the close examination of objects in their care, given me by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Musée de Cluny, the Swedish National Historical Museum, and the Wallace Collection; and to the Instituto Amatller both for opening freely to my inspection its great archive of photographs of objects

associated with art in Spain and for permission to reproduce many prints from its negatives. And that, further, I should here gratefully acknowledge Mr. C. C. Oman's long-maintained interest in the preparation of my material; the valuable comments of Mme M.-M. E. Gauthier, Librarian of the Limoges Municipal Library; and the assistance afforded me in obtaining descriptive or historical information and/or photographs by M. Pierre Verlet, of the Musée du Louvre, by Mr. J. J. Rorimer, of the Metropolitan Museum, by Professor W. F. Stohlman, of Princeton University, by Dr. Oile Källström, of the Statens Historiska Museum, by Professor J. Camón Aznar, of Madrid, and by Señor J. Gudiol i Ricart and Señor J. Ainaud, of Barcelona.

with a number of the, usually considerably smaller, hollow Madonnas fashioned from stout copper sheets. A chain of such similarities, direct or implicit, contributes further support for the hypothesis that all the Madonna-images of our group emanated from a few workshops which were, in some way or ways, in touch with each other. In order to distinguish the Madonna of pls. XLIII, *a, b*; XLIV, *a-d* from the others of which I shall have occasion to speak, I shall refer to it, for convenience and because it is at present (on loan) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, as the 'London' one.

What little history I have been able to find attached to it carries us no farther than the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1886 it was recorded as then in the collection of Baron de Seillière;¹ although Huici and Juaristi, writing in 1929, refer to it² as being (or having been) in the 'Colección Durand', I have been unable to find confirmation for their statement. About 1930 it was bought, somewhere—presumably either Rome or Brussels—on the Continent, by an English private collector, and it remained in possession of his family until sold in 1950 to its present owner.

Our Lady is shown fully frontal, and the Child minutely divergent from frontal. Her right arm is bent upward from the elbow and slightly inward, with the fingers holding a short tube intended to admit the end of the stem of something; her left hand is against the Child's left thigh. The Child, in a simple garment falling to His feet, has His right hand lifted in benediction and His left under the front edge of a book. A large rectangular cavity, to contain a relic, opens into the back of the throne. The maximum height of the object is 51.5 cm.; that of our Lady to the apex of her crown, 46.5 cm.; the maximum width of the base is 20 cm. The wooden core has been sheathed, except beneath its base, with thin sheets of copper, skilfully modelled to conform to the carving and held in place by small pins. The edges of the sheets so overlap that it has been impracticable to expose enough of the core to confirm decisively whether or not it had been painted before being sheathed. Part of the wood, beneath one of the enamelled plaques encasing the throne, was at some time so injured by worm as to need replacing, and there are worm-holes just below the edge of our Lady's crown. The copper sheathing still retains much of its original gilding. Parts of the sheathing of the figures were attentively engraved: the Virgin's long tresses and the Child's shorter ones with lines of dots produced by a roulette; the eyebrows just *within* the orbits, and, oddly, the Virgin's lashes by delicate lines just within the lids (compare pp. 119, 120, 135, *infra*), but seemingly not the pupils. It should be remarked that the eyes show no trace of surface enamelling, nor of inserted vitreous eyeballs. The fur lining of her cloak is indicated by a pattern corresponding to the heraldic vair; and further engraving represents her girdle and the embroidery of her shoes. At the neck of her close-fitting garment is a brooch set with a (presumably modern) turquoise-coloured cabochon.

It is questionable whether the present crowns, both easily removable, are the ones originally provided. Our Lady's (see pl. XLIV, *a*) is elaborately adorned with applied filigree and with cabochons of stone or of glass; the filigree is of a type which, although

¹ Cf. Eduard Garnier, *Histoire de la Verrerie et de l'Émaillerie*, Tours, 1886, pp. 434 f.

² S. Huici and V. Juaristi, *El Santuario de San Miguel*

de Excelsis (Navarra) y su retablo esmaltado, Madrid, 1929, p. 70.

more commonly associated with metalwork of northern origin than with that of southern, is present also on the garments of the fine silver-sheathed image of the Virgin and Child in the Sacristy of Toledo Cathedral,¹ at the end of one of the sleeves of the Child; on the residual thirteenth-century silver sheathing of the twelfth-century wooden 'Nuestra Señora de la Majestad' in Astorga Cathedral;² on the magnificent Reliquary of the True Cross in that same Cathedral;³ and on the well-known twelfth-century repoussé silver binding for a book of the Gospels in Roncesvalles (Navarre) Collegiate Church.⁴

The leafy filigree set with small cabochons, round the base just below our Lady's feet (see pl. XLIV, *d*), exceptional in association with a Madonna-image such as ours, is of a sort⁵ produced, at least in the North, presumably about the second quarter of the thirteenth century; that is, in a period somewhat earlier than one to which we should expect to assign the present image. Similar leafy filigree appears on a number of objects of Mosan origin; e.g. on the Victoria and Albert Museum's well-known cross (no. 244-1874), attributed to about the second quarter of the thirteenth century, one of whose faces is covered with filigree of the kind. Tiny leaves and flowers, stamped from thin metal (in the present case copper,⁶ silvered before gilding; in that of the Museum's cross, silver-gilt), are soldered to slender wires representing vine-stems, and these in turn are soldered to a backing formed of a series of open flat spirals of stout wire. The band of filigree is in several short sections, all of the same width, bent so as to fit round the angles of the base; because of its sectional construction, we must hesitate in using it to help date the image's other metalwork. I am inclined, in the circumstances, to think it probable that the leafy filigree, whether or not made especially for its present situation, replaces an original band inscribed (presumably in enamel) with the Angelic Salutation. The part of the base below the band of leafy filigree is sheathed with thin copper engraved with a network of lines enclosing simple punchmarks.

Our Lady's throne is sheathed with stout plates of copper and has a vertical copper rod at each corner. It is capped by a stout copper cresting pierced by keyhole-shaped openings. The two front plates, whose outward edges are straight but whose inward edges are shaped to conform to the outlines of the Virgin's garments, are champlévé

¹ J. Gudiol (Ricart), in *Pintura e Imageria románica* [vol. vi of *Ars Hispaniae*], by W. W. S. Cook and José Gudiol Ricart, Madrid, 1950, fig. 441 (wrongly numbered 440; cf. *errata*). Concerning this image Gudiol says (p. 389) that its metalwork can be Toledan and contemporary with the carving of the wood—which he takes to have been done about the year 1200.

² Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de España: Provincia de León (1906-8)*, Madrid, 1925-6, fig. 490 and p. 326; María Elena Gómez-Moreno, *Mil joyas del Arte Español*, Barcelona, 1947, vol. i (Antigüedad y Edad Media), pl. 239 and p. 149; Gudiol, *op. cit.*, fig. 418 and p. 376.

³ *Catálogo monumental: León*, figs. 508, 509, and p. 334; *Mil joyas*, pl. 279.

⁴ E. Bertaux, *Exposición Retrospectiva de Arte.-1908*, Saragossa and Madrid, 1910, pl. 73 and p. 239; J. J.

Marquet de Vasselot, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1897, pp. 208 ff. Of this object Bertaux says: 'Il est impossible de décider si cette pièce a été exécutée au Navarre, ou, comme des pièces plus récentes du trésor de Roncevaux, dans la Midi de la France.'

⁵ For much on similar filigree, cf. H. P. Mitchell, 'Some Works by the Goldsmiths of Oignies', in *Burlington Magazine*, xxxix (1921), pp. 158, 163, 273 f., 279, with pls. iv-vi.

⁶ A crozier-head, in the British Museum, is adorned with similar, but somewhat coarser, filigree whose leaves are of copper-gilt. Cf. *British Museum: Guide to the Medieval Antiquities*, London, 1924, pl. iv; *Sir Hercules Read: A Tribute*, London, 1921, pl. XIII. Brother Hugo, of Oignies, to whom this crozier-head has been attributed, died in 1233.

enamelled with tiers of little arches of lightish blue with white interiors. The curved plate to our Lady's left (pl. XLIV, *b*) carries a reserved image of the Virgin Annunciate in a ground of lightish blue enamel having a somewhat greyish tinge; she is nimbed with light blue edged with white and stands beneath a Gothic arch, partly filled with red enamel; surmounted by towers; round her are scrolls (in reserve) which in some cases end in fleurons whose granular red centres are enclosed within light blue edged with white. On the opposite side of the throne the corresponding plaque (pl. XLIV, *c*) presents Gabriel, in reserve in a ground of a blue slightly deeper than the blue round Mary, which is in part occupied by scrolls in reserve and in part by a vertical line of coloured discs of divers sizes. Each of those discs has an edge and a centre of metal; in most of them the enclosed enamels are wavy-edged. The order of their colours varies: outward from the centre we have red, light green, yellow; light blue, white; light green yellow; red, light blue, white; red, greyish blue, light blue, white; light green, white; red, whitish blue, white. The plate at the back displays simple scrolls, in reserve in a ground of a blue like the blue round Mary, conforming perfectly to the rectangular opening of the relic-cavity; the present door is a replacement, presumably recent, cast in bronze and gilt, perhaps inspired by the pattern of the original door¹ and representing the lily-plant usual in Annunciation scenes. Each of the four posts at the throne's corners is engraved vertically with a line of ill-shaped little circles.

The covering of a piece of carved wood with thin metal was common both in France and in Spain from the twelfth century into the fourteenth. The following may be cited as examples of metal-sheathed wooden images, of our Lady seated and holding the Child, with which may be compared the Madonna illustrated in pls. XLIII, *a, b*; XLIV, *a-d*. In Spain, cased in silver, Madonnas at Astorga,² Pamplona,³ Irache,⁴ Ujué,⁵ Sangüesa,⁶ Toledo Cathedral (one in the Sacristy,⁷ another in the Treasury⁸), Seville,⁹ and Roncesvalles;¹⁰ and cased in copper at Huesca¹¹ and at Salamanca.¹² In France, cased in silver, Madonnas at Roc-Amadour (Lot),¹³ Beaulieu (Corrèze),¹⁴ Orcival (Auvergne),¹⁵ and Conques;¹⁶ and cased in copper at Breuil-au-fâ (Haute-Vienne),¹⁷ La Sauvetat,¹⁸ and Soubrebost.¹⁹ It should be observed that in a number of the Spanish examples—e.g. those at Astorga, Pamplona, Irache, Ujué, Toledo, and Seville—the painted wood of the faces and the hands (and in some cases that of the

¹ Cf. E. Rupin, *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1890-2, p. 469, referring to the back (not illustrated) of the coreless Madonna-image shown in his fig. 518.

² Cf. p. 116, n. 2 *supra*.

³ Gudiol, *op. cit.*, fig. 381 and p. 353.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 376 and p. 353.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 375 and p. 344.

⁶ Mentioned by Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 247. I have not seen a picture of this.

⁷ Gudiol, *op. cit.*, fig. 440 (wrongly numbered 441) and p. 389; *Mil joyas del Arte Español*, pl. 317 (side view).

⁸ Gudiol, *op. cit.*, fig. 441 (wrongly numbered 440) and p. 389.

⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 444 and p. 389.

¹⁰ Bertaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 247 f. and pl. 76 (in colours).

¹¹ Ricardo del Arco, *Catálogo monumental de España: Huesca*, Madrid, 1942, fig. 157; *idem*, in 'Iconología Mariana en la Provincia de Huesca', in *Museum*, iii (1913),

pp. 424 (front) and 425 (left side); Huici and Juaristi, *op. cit.*, fig. 37 (left side) and p. 71; *infra*, pp. 119 ff.

¹² *Mil joyas . . .*, pl. 276 (two views) and pp. 170 f.; Bertaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 319 f. and pls. 105, 106 (in colours); Huici and Juaristi, *op. cit.*, fig. 38; *infra*, pp. 137 ff.

¹³ Rupin, *op. cit.*, figs. 515, 516, and p. 465.

¹⁴ Arthur Gardner, *Medieval Sculpture in France*, Cambridge, 1931, fig. 10 and p. 19; Joan Evans, *Clunian Art of the Romanesque Period*, 1950, fig. 27 with p. 27; Rupin, *op. cit.*, figs. 153 and (for details) 151, 154, and pp. 81-85.

¹⁵ *Le Point*, no. xxv (June, 1943), fig. 5. The present sheathing, dating from the seventeenth century, is recorded as replacing an earlier one.

¹⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 149.

¹⁷ Cf. *infra*, pp. 121 ff.

¹⁸ *Infra*, pp. 122 f.

¹⁹ *Infra*, pp. 123 f.

Child's feet as well) has been left exposed. Madonna-images of carved wood sheathed with base metals other than copper—lead, tin, and latten or brass are mentioned—have been recorded from Spain,¹ but they appear to be rare; indeed, I do not recall ever having seen one. Trens cites and illustrates (*loc. cit.* and fig. 383) a wooden Madonna, attributed to the eleventh century, covered with 'cinc', in the Junyent Collection at Barcelona, and mentions another similar, but '*completamente aplastado*', in the Vallín Collection there. In this connexion we may recall the famous image of Sainte Foy, at Conques,² analogously cased in silver enriched with gems and with cloisonné enamels applied like gems; the numerous arm-reliquaries, of which Rupin says (*op. cit.*, pp. 481–6, with figs. 530–9) that they are almost always made of wood covered with sheets of silver-gilt or of copper; and other things, such as the fifteenth-century head-reliquary of Saint Yrieix, of wood sheathed with silver parcel-gilt.³

At Huesca, in the Convent of Santa Clara, is a Madonna-image which in a number of ways so closely resembles the image reproduced in pls. XLIII, *a, b*; XLIV, *a–d* (the 'London' Madonna) that we may well believe that both were made in the same workshop. This image⁴ (pl. XLV, *a, b*),⁵ of wood sheathed with copper, is in height 50 cm. (as compared with the London image's 51.5 cm.) and in width 20 cm. Our Lady is, as in the London image, frontal and with her left hand, in virtually the same position as in the London example, holding the Child on her left knee; her right hand, raised in almost precisely the same way as in that image, similarly holds a short tubular object; her garments are the same as in the London Madonna, but they are draped rather more like those in the Madonna (pl. XLVI, *a, b*), closely parallel and also presumably from the same workshop (cf. pp. 120 f., *infra*), in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It should be observed, however, that between our Lady's feet there lies a fold, in the form of a flattened 's', virtually the same as the one of the London Madonna (cf. pl. XLIV, *d*). Her shoes are shaped like the shoes of the London Madonna and of the one in the Metropolitan Museum (to which I shall hereinafter refer, for brevity and convenience, as the 'Morgan' Madonna); her hair is represented just as in those two Madonnas; and—because of its rarity a particularly significant detail—her eyes have lashes (see pl. XLV, *a*), engraved in the metal, like those of the London Madonna. Her crown does not fit well, and looks to be of later date than the remainder of the work. The Child, too, is fully frontal; his book had just the same form and was held in just the same way as in the London Madonna, but it and the hand that held it, and His legs, have been broken through vertically so that a section of the wooden core is exposed; His right hand is missing, and His crown as well.

The Huesca Madonna's throne is sheathed with five plates of stout copper adorned with champlevé enamels; the cresting is of stout copper pierced by keyhole-shaped openings surmounted by little arches like those along the top of the London cresting. The front of the throne was formerly faced with a pair of enamelled plates cut to fit the irregular spaces at the sides of our Lady's garment, but one of these has disappeared; on the other are tiers of little arches similar to those of the front of the London

¹ M. Trens, *Maria: Iconografía de la Virgen en le Arte Español*, Madrid, 1947, p. 658.

² Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 ff. with figs. 113–16.

³ *Ibid.*, fig. 504.

⁴ Cf. p. 118, n. 11 *supra*.

⁵ From negatives of Foto Mas; reproduced by courtesy of Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispanico, Barcelona.

Madonna's throne. The throne's side-plates (cf. pl. XLV, *b* for the one on the left side) are bent in precisely the same way as those of the London image, and analogously have Mary and Gabriel under pointed arches and in fields of scrolls reserved in an enamelled ground, although there are some minor differences from the London plates. High in the back of the throne is a cavity, formerly closed by a small door. The throne's plaques descend to the bottom of the back, and so suggest that they may have been re-set at some time. Round the front of the base, where on the London Madonna there is a band of leafy filigree, is a band, composed of several panels, inscribed AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA in champlevé enamelled letters. A similar band, with the same inscription, is at the very bottom (instead of just below our Lady's feet) of the Morgan Madonna. That same Salutation, correspondingly enamelled, appears on some of the coreless copper images of the seated Virgin with the Child.

A Madonna-image similar to the one still at Huesca is recorded as having left Navarre, a few years prior to 1933, 'on its way to a foreign collection'.¹ Presumably this image was neither the London Madonna nor the Morgan one. We shall see that the statement that the image was until recently in Navarre is significant.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art's image of the Virgin and Child² (pl. XLVI, *a, b*),³ to which I have referred above as the 'Morgan' Madonna, formed part of the superb collection gathered by Mr. John Pierpont Morgan and was among his son's gifts to the Museum in 1917. It is well known, having passed through the Béraudière and Oppenheim Collections,⁴ and having been exhibited at Paris, in the Exposition Rétrospective, in 1900. It clearly seems to have been made in the same workshop as our London Madonna (pls. XLIII, *a, b*; XLIV, *a-d*)—it is similar in form and in construction, and closely similar in dimensions, being 43.5 cm. high (the difference in height, about 8 cm., being caused mainly by the absence of one element of the London image's base) and 20 cm. wide. The throne, hollowed from the back, is similarly covered with plaques of stout copper adorned with champlevé enamels and surmounted by a cresting varying only in trivial details from that of the London throne. As the differences between the Morgan Madonna and the London one lie almost wholly in details of their copper sheathings, I think that it may reasonably be presumed that the wooden cores were carved in the same workshop, even though the two copper sheathings may not have been from one hand. The similarities between the present Madonna and the Madonnas at London and at Huesca suggest that all three came from a workshop operating industrially.

The Morgan Madonna holds, like the London one, an empty socket in the right hand. Our Lady's face is almost the same as in the London image; though its eyes are more slit-like and have pupils and irises symbolized by engraved circles, they have, as in the London and Huesca ones, tiny delicate lines to indicate lashes, and other lines (within the orbits) for the eyebrows. The edging of her outer garment—which is, as in the London and Huesca images, lined with fur—is a series of little crosses

¹ 'Otra parecida salió de Navarra hace pocos años, camino de una colección extranjera.' Cf. V. Juaristi, *Esmaltes: con especial mención de los españoles*, Barcelona, 1933, p. 212.

² Ac. no. 17.290.124.

³ Reproduced by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁴ E. Molinier, *Catalogue Collection du Baron Albert Oppenheim*, Paris, 1904, no. 133, pl. LXXI; *Burlington Magazine*, ix (1906), p. 229, fig. 3.

enclosed in lozenges; and the bottom of her inner garment is edged with pseudo-Cufic lettering. Her shoes are engraved to represent rich embroidery; on her breast is a brooch; her girdle has ornamentation very slightly sunken and painted with unpolished blue enamel of somewhat greyish tinge.¹ The Child, whose eyes are shown without pupils, is clothed in a tunic like that of the London Child, with ornamentation at neck and wrist. In His left hand He holds a book in almost precisely the same way as in the London image; His right arm is missing.

The throne is in shape like the thrones of the London and Huesca Madonnas but, instead of the champlévé enamels of those two images, it has thin copper sheathing on the front. Its side-pieces are bent in the same way as theirs and analogously adorned with champlévé enamels; on each side-piece are two tiers of two Saints under Gothic arches, in reserve in a blue ground incorporating reserved scrolls. The plate at the back is ornamented with large scrolls reserved in a blue ground, in this paralleling precisely the back plate of the London Madonna; its door shows St. Peter—who as guardian of a door is peculiarly appropriate²—in reserve in a field of reserved scrolls with some multicoloured fleurons. On the front of the throne are rods whose sides are engraved with a pattern like the one on the posts of the London Madonna's throne; their terminals, perhaps originally embellished, project above the upper edge of a cresting having keyhole-shaped apertures. Immediately below the metallic sheathing of the image is a narrow space through which the wooden core may be seen; below this space is copper sheathing, marked more or less symmetrically with impressions of a very small punch; and at the bottom is a band, in several rectangular sections, inscribed—like the corresponding band of the Huesca Madonna—AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA, in letters of red enamel in a metal ground of tiny dots between two horizontal lines of light blue enamel.

In the church at Breuil-au-fâ (Haute-Vienne), not far from Limoges, is an image of the Virgin and Child (pl. XLVII, a)³ that can be associated with the three Madonna-images discussed above. It is of wood covered with sheets of gilded copper, in height 46.8 cm., virtually the same, allowing for its lower base, as the height of the Huesca Madonna and the London one. In attitudes and in garments (so far as one is able to compare them) it closely approaches the images of our pls. XLIII–XLVI, but its base is rounded in front like the base of the Madonna at La Sauvetat (cf. *infra*), instead of pentagonal, as in the Huesca, London, and Morgan Madonnas. The photograph herewith reproduced strongly suggests that some parts of the image have been incompetently 'restored'. Our Lady's eyes are white, with blue irises and black pupils; the Child's are black; Rupin says that the enamels are set like gems and held by a flattened rim, and that those for our Lady's eyes look to be champlévé, with the pupils in cloisonné.⁴ In the London Madonna and the Morgan one the eyes are merely engraved,

¹ Compare Texier's description of the engraved shoes and the enamelled cuff of the copper Madonna-image formerly at Vallière (Creuse); cf. p. 123 *infra*.

² Compare the coreless copper Madonna-images of the Vermeersch Collection and the Musée Saint-Raymond at Toulouse; cf. pp. 134, 136 *infra*.

³ Reproduced by courtesy of Hans Sibbelee. I have to thank Mme M.-M. S. Gauthier for having obtained, for

my use, the present photograph. For a diagonal view, together with a description from which have been extracted most of the particulars set out herewith, cf. Rupin, *op. cit.*, fig. 522.

⁴ My photographic print suggests, rather, the possibility that they may be merely painted, on surfaces plain like those of the eyeballs of the London Madonna.

and in the Huesca one they look to be, as are both faces, painted. The eyebrows are in black enamel.

Another image of the Virgin and Child, carved from wood and sheathed with copper and with champlevé enamels (pl. XLVII, *c, d*),¹ is in a church at La Sauvetat, in the Département of Puy de Dôme, which is separated from Haute-Vienne (in which lies Limoges) only by the Département of Creuse. Although Palustre says (p. 503) that it 'n'a pas subi jusqu' ici de restauration sérieuse', to me his photograph suggests a number of changes from the original composition; but his photograph is too small and too indistinct to indicate what changes, if any, were made in the figures themselves at the time of those alterations.

Guélon gives the height of the complete object as 54 cm. As about 8.5 cm. of this is to be accounted for by the platform and its feet, the height of the image alone must be approximately 45.5 cm., which is almost precisely that of the London Madonna and but little different from the heights of the Huesca, the Breuil-au-fâ, and the Morgan images. It should be observed that the platform is rounded in front, like the one of the Breuil-au-fâ Madonna, and not pentagonal, like the platforms of the others. The basic iconography of the image parallels that of each of the other four: Virgin and Child are both completely frontal; the Child, seated on His mother's left knee, holds in His left hand a book and lifts His right in benediction; Mary, her right hand raised to the level of her girdle, holds a short tube: her garments are edged with a lozenge design, her mantle being lined with fur indicated by a pattern like the heraldic vair; her girdle which, as usual, has a hanging end, is, like that of the Morgan Madonna, enamelled blue; and the exposed fronts of her golden shoes are richly enamelled with a network of red lines enclosing blue quatrefoils and a median band of green embellished with a scroll in reserve.² Palustre's photograph shows the eyes of both Virgin and Child to be realistically rendered in colour; but whether in enamel or in paint, I do not know.

The throne is encased in plaques of copper, champlevé enamelled. On one side is a figure of St. Peter (exceptionally represented as young, beardless, and tonsured) reserved in (according to Guélon) a blue ground sown with fleurs-de-lis, and, like St. Paul, who stands on the opposite side of the throne, wearing shoes.³ St. Paul likewise is shown young and beardless, instead of mature, and with a thick head of hair instead of (as more usually) decidedly bald. At the back of the throne is a plaque (pl. XLVII, *d*) in which is a large aperture provided with a hinged door; along its upper edge is a cresting closely resembling that of the throne of the Morgan Madonna (pl. XLVI, *b*). The central part of the door is engraved with a figure of Gabriel (identifiable by its resemblance, save for the head turned backward, to the Huesca Gabriel [pl. XLV, *b*]), with a red nimbus, in a ground sown with fleurs-de-lis reserved in a blue field.

¹ Reproduced from heliogravures in L. Palustre's 'La Vierge de La Sauvetat (Puy de Dôme)', in *Bull. monumental*, xlix (1883), pp. 497-504, whence comes my information concerning the object. Line drawings accompany Abbé P.-F. Guélon's account of the image, in his *Histoire de La Sauvetat-Rossille*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1882, pp. 17 ff.; and Rupin's *op. cit.*, pp. 471 ff.

² Palustre, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

³ This is contrary to a rule of iconography, based on a medieval interpretation of Isaiah iii, 7 and seldom broken. The present case may conceivably have some bearing in the question of where the object was made; cf. my *Medieval Spanish Enamels*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1936, p. 116.

The most interesting feature of the plaque is the long inscription, in letters of blue enamel arranged in tiers separated by red lines, which tells us that Eudes de Montaigut, prior of the Auvergne province ('*langue*') of the Hospitallers of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, had the image made, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Glorious, in the year 1319. That date, well into the fourteenth century, is somewhat unexpectedly late for an object of this nature. I am inclined to think that the image, despite its several close correspondences to the Madonna-images above discussed, may be a reversion to a form which had been devised perhaps some half-century or more earlier, rather than a late product of an unintermitted handicraft. There are, nevertheless, several minor differences from any of the images with which we have as yet had to do.

Two other Madonna-images, likewise of enamelled copper, have been recorded by the Abbé Texier.¹ One of these, at Eymoutiers (which, like La Sauvetat, is in Haute-Vienne), he describes as having the Child seated on the Virgin's left knee, the garments and the crown (? the Child's also) enriched with turquoises, the throne—hollow, so that it might serve as a reliquary—engraved with a representation of the Annunciation, while enamelled fleurons 'exactly like those which decorate the tomb of Prince Jean, son of Saint Louis',² are on the base.³ The second was, until sold about 1850, in the church at Vallières, in the adjacent Département of Creuse; in general form it recalled the Eymoutiers image, and was 'de la même dimension'. Texier says that the bodies of its two figures were of copper '*estampé*' (here presumably meaning beaten into shape), with faces of silver treated in the same way. Our Lady's robe, '*semé de fleurs de lis*', was edged with trefoils enclosed between interlacing zigzags, and her shoes were decorated with a network whose meshes enclosed tiny crosses, while at her right wrist was a cuff embellished with unpolished coloured enamel. The casing of her throne was of copper champlevé enamel, polished as usual, in a design of '*trois personnages et un ange debout*' framed under trilobed pointed arches; an enamelled inscription, AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA, in thirteenth-century lettering, presumably indicates that Mary and Gabriel were two of the figures. Although Texier's description leaves some doubt whether the image was of wood sheathed with copper, or a coreless copper one, I am inclined to think that it may have been the former.

The church at Soubrebost (Creuse) has a Madonna-image, roughly carved from wood and covered with sheets of copper-gilt, which would seem to be related to the Madonnas above described. In the region it is known as 'La Vierge Dorée'.⁴ It is on a somewhat larger scale than the others, being 78 cm. in height. Both Virgin and Child are frontal. The latter, who is seated on the Virgin's left knee, holds a book in His left hand and lifts His right in blessing. An engraved and enamelled band at

¹ *Dictionnaire d'orfèvrerie*, Paris, 1857, s.v. 'Images de la Sainte Vierge', col. 1043.

² Prince Jean died in 1248; his tomb is now at Saint-Denis. For some brief notes on it see Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 f.

³ This image was sold, soon after the middle of the nineteenth century, by the curé of Eymoutiers. I do not know where it, or the image then at Vallières, may now be.

⁴ Cf. *Catalogue of the Exhibition 'La Vierge dans l'Art Français'*, in the Petit Palais, Paris, 1950, no. 220 (with

pl. 20); A. Lacrocq, 'Statue de la Vierge', in *Mém. de la Société des Sciences Naturelles et Archéologiques de la Creuse*, xxxiii (1925), pp. 533-5. Lacrocq speaks of it as a curious example of a form which Bréhier ascribes to a prototype, the (lost) tenth-century 'Vierge d'Or' of Clermont; it resembles, however, in its present state the Madonna-images with which we have been above concerned rather than the Auvergne Madonnas, which have the Child central on our Lady's lap.

Mary's neck, and an edging of fur (the heraldic *vair*), suggest that the original metal-work was executed by a competent craftsman, and that the image's present relatively clumsy appearance follows from a remounting of the original sheathing on a later core—one unusual in that it lacks a relic-cavity. Round the base was, in red enamel of which traces remain, the Angelic Salutation, in a form more extended than usual on our Madonnas.¹ The *Catalogue* points out that, although the image itself is in the tradition of Romanesque goldsmithing, the lettering of the inscription and the red enamel in which it is executed indicate a date in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Formerly in the ancient church of Moussac-sur-Vienne and now in the Musée de Cluny is a Madonna-image, 'La Vierge de Moussac' (pl. XLVII, *b*),² of exceptional interest, both because it was until recently in a church in the Limousin and because, although technically it belongs to the group of coreless copper Madonna-images, so many of its details parallel closely details of the members of the group having wooden cores that I think we may accept it as in some way constituting a link between the two groups. The figure of our Lady, her throne, and the shallow stand upon which that throne is set, are made of stout copper sheet, much of whose original gilding still survives; there is no core of any sort. The full height of the object is 45.5 cm.; that of the image alone approximately 39.5 cm. As is usual in Madonnas of its type, the seated Virgin is completely frontal; two holes in her left knee show where the Child (presumably also frontal) originally was seated. In her right hand she holds, almost vertical, the usual (in this type) short tube of small diameter. Her face is somewhat more severe than is usual in Madonna-images of the kind.³ Her eyes are shaped like elongated almonds, with iris and pupil engraved as a circle round a dot at the centre; they lack any trace of enamel.

The figure of our Lady, about 35.5 cm. from its lower edge to the top of its head (crowned, it was even taller), is constructed of two thick sheets of copper separately worked, fastened together by an iron rod extending across the interior; the edges of the two portions fit precisely along a vertical plane slightly back of the front of the throne. The front portion has been embossed in very high (virtually full) relief; the rear one in a relief somewhat flatter. It seems clear that the two portions were made at the same time, and presumably by the same craftsman. The hands are reasonably well modelled, with knuckles and nails clearly marked; they look as though perhaps cast separately and worked over before being attached to the embossed piece forming the front; they seem not to be hollow, and pretty certainly they were not made (as were those of the 'Virgen de la Vega' (pls. LIV, *a, b*; LV, *a, c*) from thick sheet cut and

¹ Lacrocq's drawing of this shows separation of the words by three dots set vertically (· · ·), a feature somewhat uncommon in French champlevé enamels, but to be observed in a number of enamels (and other things) which I have reasons for believing to be of Spanish origin.

² Reproduced by courtesy of the Musée de Cluny and of M. Pierre Verlet, to whom I am indebted both for the present photograph and for opportunity to make a minute examination of the 'Vierge'. The image was shown at Limoges, in 1948, no. 112, pl. XIII (cf. p. 143, n. 7, *infra*).

For a description of it, with two plates (one of the front, in gold; the other in line and colours, of the back of the throne), see de Longuemar's 'La Vierge de Moussac-sur-Vienne', in *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 2 S., II (1878-9), pp. 495-8.

³ Compare the severe countenance of our Lady in some of the wooden Madonna-images in Navarre and in Aragon, reproduced by Gudiol in *Imagineria*: e.g. those of his figs. 353, 359, 368, 371, 382.

bent into shape (cf. p. 137 *infra*). The front edge has only three sides instead of, as in most of the images of the wooden-cored group, five. The figure of the Child seems to have been made for some other situation.

The throne is built up of several pieces of stout copper sheet, and is hexagonal in horizontal section. It is shallow in comparison with its width, being only about 8 cm. from front to back; and of those 8 cm. only about 6 cm. are covered by the figure of our Lady. It is surmounted by a cresting of stout copper, pierced by keyhole-shaped openings and engraved with small lozenges each of which encloses a cross with pointed ends. This cresting, which is level across the back of the throne, along its sides slopes very slightly towards the front. The front of the throne is engraved with tiers of little arches, closely paralleling those executed in enamel on the thrones of the Huesca and London Madonna-images, and in engraving on the cored Madonna at Breuil-au-fâ and the smaller coreless images in the Wallace Collection (pl. LIII, *b*) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (no. 17.190. 348; cf. pl. LIII, *c*, *d*). At each front corner is a vertical strip, of thick copper engraved with an undulating line having a dot within each undulation, corresponding to the vertical rods at the corners of the thrones of the wooden-cored Madonna-images. In the middle of the back is an opening, whose door is missing, with vertical sides and a rounded top; it is framed by enamel of lapis blue in which are reserved scrolls and fleurons having blue centres and white rims. The two narrow wings, at an obtuse angle to the back and connecting it with the sides proper, resemble the back except in that their reserved scrolls lack fleurons. A representation of the Annunciation is, as on many of the enamelled copper Madonna-images, divided between the two sides; its figures are reserved in grounds of lapis blue, each under a red-filled trilobate arch surrounded by turquoise blue and having the two halves of a dimidiated tower set on the outer curves of the arch, with pieces of scrolls reserved in the enamelled ground. Both Mary and Gabriel face the front of the throne, she at the left side of the enthroned figure, he at the right side.

The stand (which looks to have been, as usual, made specially for the image now set upon it) has four short legs, each with a mask engraved on its shoulder, as is usual on the legs of the stands of the coreless Madonna-images; its drooping edge is engraved with a continuous line of tangent semicircles. The lapis blue ground of its upper surface is broken up by scrolls in reserve and fleurons, some of the latter greyish blue with white rims, others with a red centre followed by green with a yellow rim, and some in which the colour-dispositions of the two simpler kinds are combined.

It will have been observed that, in addition to the several parallels to the copper-sheathed wooden Madonnas pointed out above—in the general iconography of the figure of our Lady, in details of her garments, in the pattern of the plaques on the front of her throne, in the designs of the figured panels on the sides of the throne and in the delineations of their personages—the position of the Moussac Madonna's right hand is almost the same as it is in the Morgan and Breuil-au-fâ Madonnas, the decorative pattern on her girdle is virtually the same as on the London and Breuil-au-fâ ones and that on the border of her robe almost identical with that of the Morgan Madonna, the way in which her eyes are represented is very like that in the Morgan Madonna and (save for the absence of lashes and the presence of irises and pupils) that in the

London Madonna, and, finally, that the height of the image by itself is about the same, within a very few centimeters, as the corresponding heights (i.e. from the soles of their feet to the summits of their heads) of several of the sheathed Madonnas. The paralleling of a number of various small details, of not only one such image but of several, would appear clearly to intimate that the maker of the 'Vierge de Moussac' was no isolated copyist eclectically repeating features of such Madonna-images as casually had attracted his notice, but was a craftsman embodying in his work forms and patterns current in the place where he practised his craft; that is, that the Moussac Madonna (as presumably at least some of the coreless copper images with which we shall later have to do) was produced in one of the workshops where were made such wooden-cored Madonna-images as those discussed above. I surmise that the industrial production of metal-sheathed Madonna-images preceded the production of those, such as the Moussac Madonna, wholly metallic, because there still exist copper-sheathed wooden Madonnas which appear fairly certainly to antedate most, if not indeed all, of the coreless ones. Furthermore, the character of the copper coreless Madonnas—to which I shall refer in detail below—seems to me decidedly to suggest that they were indeed based on the copper-sheathed wooden ones. I think that these several considerations very reasonably lead to an inference, important if sound, that the industrial manufacture of the enamelled copper coreless Madonna-images was carried on in the same towns, and perhaps in the same workshops, as those where the copper-sheathed ones were being (or at least had been) made.

In the Treasury at Loreto is a copper Madonna-image, so similar to 'La Vierge de Moussac' that I think the two objects must be fairly closely related; but my information concerning it is unfortunately deficient. The descriptions¹ which I have been able to consult do not give either the dimensions of the object or state whether it is coreless (which I suspect it to be) or of wood sheathed with copper, and their accompanying illustrations are not sufficiently clear to give small details. It has been enriched (at an unknown date, presumably since its coming to Loreto) by the addition of nimbi embellished with applied filigree and of two abbreviated inscriptions in Greek lettering (ΙΣ ΧΣ ΘΣ, and ΙC XC MP ΘΥ), and by a small baldaquin of metal. There are notable similarities to the Moussac Madonna in our Lady's face, in the veil over her shoulders, in the fall of her fur-lined mantle over her right arm and her right knee to near her feet, in her girdle, in the Child's unusual posture, in the uncalled-for support beneath His feet, in His hair, and in the rectangular platform, enamelled on its upper surface and along its drooping edge, on four short legs. Our Lady's veil covers her head, curving above her face; it shows (as it does in the Moussac Madonna) where formerly a crown fitted; her right hand is outstretched, palm upward. The Child, although in a sitting attitude, appears (but not so exaggeratedly as the Moussac Child) almost as if standing; His head is a little higher than our Lady's breast, His feet about halfway between her left knee and her feet. The front of the throne looks to be engraved with tiers of little arches like those of the Moussac throne. On each side of

¹ É. Bertaux, 'L'Esposizione d'Orvieto', in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 1896, pp. 411 f.; R. Erculei, *Orficerie, Stoffe . . .*, Orvieto Exhibition, 1898, fig. 23; Loreto (in

Series 'Italia Artistica'), 1910, p. 104; Loreto (in Alinari's Series 'L'Italia Monumentale'), pl. 57.

the throne are two Apostles, one above the other, in reserve in a ground of greyish blue; the back has reserved scrolls, with coloured fleurons, in a similar ground. Below our Lady's feet is a piece incised, in Gothic lettering, AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA.

Many more of the coreless copper Madonna-images seem to have survived than of the wooden-cored ones. On the one hand, it is likely that, lending themselves better to industrialized processes, they were cheaper, and their generally smaller size and lack of a heavy core would have made them easier to transport; and, on the other hand, they were not liable to injury by worms or by dry rot, which could destroy the support for the sheathing, and they could better survive a conflagration.

Technically, the coreless copper Madonna-images so resemble certain gilded copper reliefs, of thirteenth-century types, produced industrially for application upon enamelled copper grounds and used for altar-pieces, or great chests or reliquary-caskets, or gospel-covers, or triptychs, or crosses, that we have at least some reason for thinking that they may have been produced where such things were being made, and conceivably in the same workshops.

Very similar to the Moussac Madonna in construction, but somewhat smaller (31 cm. in height as compared with 38 cm.), is a Madonna-image (pl. XLVIII, *a, b*)¹ at Artajona, in Navarre, about 17 miles south of Pamplona. Huici and Juaristi speak (*op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff.) of the legendary accounts attaching to the Artajona Madonna. Traditionally, it was made by St. Nicodemus and gilded by St. Luke the Evangelist; by Godfrey de Bouillon given to a knightly crusader, because of his valiant services in the Holy Land, it was brought by the latter to Navarre, where, held in great honour, it is known as 'Nuestra Señora de Jerusalén'. The enthroned Virgin, her left hand holding the Child, raises her right, curved as though grasping something;² her mantle is of a diapered fabric enclosing a crescent moon in each lozenge; her shoes are patterned with small lozenges; and she is crowned. The Child, seated on her left knee, is garbed in a long tunic of some diapered material and is crowned; in His left hand He holds a book by its upper edge and with His right He makes a gesture of blessing. Both He and our Lady are fully frontal; and, for both, the eyes are represented by vitreous pellets inserted in holes piercing the metal. The throne, rectangular in horizontal section, is about twice as wide as deep, and has at each corner a vertical rod with a turnip-shaped finial; its cresting comprises (cf. pl. XLVIII, *b*) perforations more elaborate than the usual keyhole-shaped ones. On the front are large scrolls reserved in an enamelled ground; the back shows Cain and Abel presenting their offerings, amid the usual filling of scrolls, reserved in a ground of coloured enamel;³ the plaque to our Lady's left (pl. XLVIII, *b*) depicts the Virgin Annunciate among reserved scrolls, and the one to her right presumably⁴ the Archangel. The image is affixed to a stand similar, both in form and in the character of its enamelled ornamentation, to the stand of 'La Vierge de Moussac'. The several resemblances to the Moussac Madonna—which parallels in form and in a number of minor details the Madonnas of wood

¹ Reproduced by courtesy of Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispanico. Side view given by Huici and Juaristi, *op. cit.*, fig. 34.

² My photographs suggest that there is a very short

tube (or perhaps a socket) held between the index and the thumb; but their angles of view leave this uncertain.

³ Cf. Huici and Juaristi, *op. cit.*, fig. 35.

⁴ I have not seen a photograph.

sheathed with copper, but in its construction a typical coreless Madonna—clearly seems to imply a close connexion of some sort between the respective producers of the two varieties of Madonna-images.

At Palencia, in the Episcopal Palace, is an image of the Virgin and Child constructed in the same way as 'Nuestra Señora de Jerusalén', but affixed to another type of stand (pl. XLIX, *a, b, c*).¹ It is of gilt copper enriched with champlevé enamels and cabochons, 24 cm. in height, and well preserved except for the loss of the Child's right hand, the object formerly held in our Lady's right hand, and two fleurons of her crown. Her image was made in two separate pieces; in pl. XLIX, *c* the line of division may be perceived passing vertically through the head, the veil, near the back of the upper arm, and the thigh. The object was long in the Abbey of Husillos, which appears to have been founded about the beginning of the eleventh century. Its church (presumably rebuilt) was dedicated by Abbot Raimundo Gilaberti and King Sancho III of Castile in 1158; a suggestion has been advanced that it may perhaps have been acquired, well after that date (which seems much too early for it), for the purpose of preserving a '*vestigio*' of our Lady which Abbot Raimundo brought to Husillos from Rome.²

Both Virgin and Child are completely frontal; the Child is seated on His mother's left knee and holds a book by its lower edge; both are crowned, each wears a jewelled ornament at the neck, and both have vitreous pellets inserted to represent eyes. There is a notable similarity, in the draping of our Lady's garments below her girdle, to a painted wooden Madonna ('Santa María la Blanca')³ formerly at Berbegal (pl. L, *c*),⁴ and particularly in the degraded fold between the feet. While the Berbegal carving looks to be somewhat later than the Husillos Madonna, it has the appearance also of being closely related to an earlier painted one at Igriés (pl. L, *d*)⁵ which in several ways seems associable with the London copper-sheathed Madonna (pl. XLIII, *a* and pp. 115 ff. *supra*). *Mil joyas* points out that the Child's garments in the Husillos Madonna-image include a surcoat open at the side to below the girdle, which, already obsolete in France was (as testified not alone by paintings and by sculpture, but also by raiment found in the royal interments at Las Huelgas, Burgos)⁶ very characteristic of Spanish royal wearing apparel of the thirteenth century, and that this and other iconographic details betoken the image to be of Spanish origin.

The throne, approximately twice as wide as deep, is rectangular in plan. The front is engraved with just such vermiculé ornament as that on the retable of San Miguel in Excelsis.⁷ The plate at its rear (pl. XLIX, *a*) encloses a large square opening round which are scrolls in an enamelled ground, closed by a hinged door on which is the

¹ From negatives of Foto Mas; reproduced by courtesy in Instituto Amatller. The image was exhibited at Burgos, in 1921, in the Exposición de Arte Retrospectivo. Illustrated and described in the *Catálogo general*, Burgos, 1926, under no. 868 (pl. xxxviii and pp. 101 f.).

² Cf. María Elena Gómez-Moreno's *Mil joyas*, p. 222, from whose account of the object the present data have been extracted.

³ On this image cf. del Arco, *Cat. mon.: Huesca*, p. 212.

⁴ Neg. Foto Mas; reproduced by courtesy of Instituto

Amatller.

⁵ Reproduced from del Arco, *Cat. mon.: Huesca*, fig. 303.

⁶ Cf. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *El Panteón Real de las Huelgas de Burgos*, Madrid, 1946.

⁷ Cf. Huici and Juaristi, *op. cit.*, figs. 72-89, 92-95. This ornament, if it indeed be, as it looks to be, an original part of the image, suggests a date somewhat earlier than the approximate dates to which most of the coreless copper Madonna-images presumably are assignable.

Dextera Dei in white enamel and with a cruciferous nimbus. The plaque to our Lady's right bears, reserved in a ground embellished with reserved scrolls, a badly drawn standing figure with an enamelled nimbus; he carries a long-handled cross, he is beardless, and his feet are bare, and his finger seems to point upward: I suspect that, despite the absence of wings, he is meant for Gabriel. Although I have no knowledge of what is on the plaque to our Lady's left, I surmise it to be a corresponding figure representing the Virgin Annunciate. The cresting is formed of a series of keyhole-shaped arches having a little projection above the junction of each arch with its neighbour; along the sides it slopes distinctly upward towards the level section at the back. The low stand to which it is affixed is circular and expands towards the bottom; round it is an inscription, AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA in large enamelled letters in a reserved ground; its flat upper surface is ornamented with reserved scrolls having coloured fleurons in an enamelled field and with a border of enamel, and has a large flat-topped knob opposite each corner of the throne.

A coreless copper Madonna-image (pl. L, *a*),¹ in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, about 27 cm. in height, includes a circular stand similar in form to the one of the Husillos Madonna but with, in the place of that Madonna's enamelled inscription, an engraved undulating design curiously similar to the design, reserved in an enamelled field, on the quadrangular stand of the coreless copper Madonna formerly in the Rüttschi Collection (pl. L, *b*). The image, although closely approaching the Husillos one in size, differs from it in a number of ways and looks to be markedly later in date,² and in workmanship it is much inferior. The Child stands sideways on His mother's left knee, instead of sitting frontal; in her right hand she holds a globular object—perhaps, as Ross suggests, an apple symbolical of the new Eve—at about the level of her breast, instead of having that hand at about the level of her girdle and closed as though round a stem; her collar is of a different type and her veil is in folds much more mannered. But relationship between the two Madonnas seems vouched for by the S-fold between the feet, already to some extent degraded in the Husillos image and still more in the present one. Both Virgin and Child have, for eyes, vitreous pellets inserted in holes in the metal, as have the other coreless Madonnas of corresponding sizes (but not the Moussac Madonna) with which we are here concerned, and both retain their crowns—hers still set with small pastes. Crawling across her lap, downward from between the Child's feet, is a crude representation of a serpent; possibly, as Ross suggests, to further the notion of our Lady as the new Eve. Divided between the two sides of the throne are the two participants in the Annunciation; as is usual in similar Madonnas, there is a door in the back of the throne.

Another Madonna-image (pl. L, *b*)³ of the same sort, but with a stand of the more usual form, quadrangular with four short legs, was in the Rüttschi Collection, dispersed

¹ Reproduced by courtesy of the Museum: No. 17.190.331. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, from his father's collection. Published by M. C. Ross, 'Notice sur une Statuette de la Madone et l'Enfant du XIV^e siècle', in *Bull. de la Société scientifique, historique et archéologique de la Corrèze*, lv (1933); and in *Master Bronzes*, Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo (N.Y.), 1937, no. 117.

² Ross has presumed it to be of the early fourteenth

century, and I am inclined to agree with him.

³ Reproduced from O. von Falke, *Alte Goldschmiedewerke im Zürcher Kunsthause*, Zurich and Leipzig, 1928 [catalogue of A. Rüttschi's collection, at that time exhibited in the Landolthaus (Kunsthause) at Zurich], no. 1. In *Salé Catalogue*, no. 32, reproduced in pl. xix. I do not know its present situation.

at Lucerne in September, 1931. Although the stands differ, it looks to be closely associable with the Husillos Madonna. It is of copper-gilt, 30 cm. in height, adorned with champlevé enamel and some small gems. Mary is, as usual, frontal and seated on a throne, with the Child on her left knee; her right hand is raised, well away from her body, and in it she holds a short tube (such as has repeatedly appeared in our Madonnas, both sheathed and coreless) which served to support something now missing; she wore a crown, now lost. The Child, crowned, with His right hand in benediction and a book held in His left, likewise is fully frontal. The eyes of both have protuberant vitreous centres. In both figures of the Rüttschi Madonna the general disposition of the folds of the garments so considerably resembles their dispositions in the Husillos Madonna that, in spite of differences in details, we must presume the Rüttschi Madonna to be in some way related to the Husillos one. The relationship between the two images is tellingly marked in their collars, which are precisely alike in form and almost alike in their jewellery of turquoises and blue glass. But the peculiar degenerate fold, between the feet of the Husillos Madonna, and the begemmed edge of the Husillos Child's outer garment, are lacking from the Rüttschi one. The front of the Rüttschi throne is ornamented with scrolls reserved in a blue field, instead of with the engraved vermiculé scrolls of the Husillos throne; the plate at the back has the usual door, in this case representing SS. Peter and Paul reserved in a ground of blue enamel; the two side plates show respectively our Lady and Gabriel, in reserve and with their details engraved, in grounds of enamel embellished with scrolls in reserve. Apparently the cresting at the back of the throne has been damaged; the *Catalogue's* photograph (see pl. L, *b*), taken from in front, suggests that the cresting sloped upwards towards the rear, as do the crestings of the Husillos and Zouche Madonnas (pls. XLIX, *b*, *c*, and LII, *c*, *a*). The stand, although taller in comparison with the height of the image than are the stands of the Artajona and Moussac Madonnas (pls. XLVIII, *a* and XLVII, *b*), is like them in type, its upper surface is similarly enamelled, its sides carry a pattern in enamel almost identical with the corresponding pattern on the Artajona Madonna, and its legs are, like the legs of both the comparable stands, ornamented with animal masks. Although the provenance of the Rüttschi Madonna-image is not specified, I think that Herr Rüttschi's foreword to the *Catalogue* gives good grounds for presuming that the image was among the many Spanish objects he acquired.

The case for the production in Spain of the coreless copper Madonna-images, and presumably also for the inception there of the type, is furthered by the Madonna illustrated in pl. LI, *a*, *b*, *c*,¹ whose recorded history, covering several centuries, associates it with Spain. According to a tradition (of a type quite normal in Spain), it was carried into battle, at (or in) his saddle-bow, by Count Fernán González I of Castile, whence came its popular name, 'La Virgen de las Batallas'. For centuries it was kept in the Cistercian Abbey of Arlanza, founded by Count Fernán, about 23 miles south of the town of Burgos. When, in the thirties of the nineteenth century, the abbey was secularized, the image was taken by two of the displaced monks, and went in turn to the Bishop's Palace at Burgos, to Seville, and to the Duc de Montpensier, in whose possession it was when described and illustrated by Rohault de

¹ Reproduced by courtesy of Mr. J. J. Rorimer, from photostat copies of photographs in his possession.

Fleury.¹ Later, it passed through several hands before it came into those of Mr. Joseph Brummer; following his death it was sold in New York² and then went to South America;³ later it returned to New York. Obviously, it could not have belonged to Fernán González I, who died in 960; nor does it seem likely to have been made as early (as suggested by Rohault de Fleury) as the end of the twelfth century. 30 cm. in height, it represents our Lady seated, with the Child, His left hand holding a book vertical by its top and with His right raised in benediction, seated on her left knee. Her right arm is bent at the elbow, its hand contracted as though holding some object, her inner garment of a textile with a reticulate pattern of lozenges each enclosing a circle. Her throne, with a vertical rod topped by a rounded finial at each corner, has at the rear a plate ornamented with two rounded arches and with foliated scrolls and having an opening for a door (now missing); at the sides are slender figures, in reserve in lapis blue grounds, of the Virgin and Gabriel; along its top is an openwork cresting, level at the back but sloping at the sides. Beneath our Lady's feet is a small footing integrant with the front component of her figure (which, in the way of the coreless copper Madonnas, has been made in two sections); and under this is a flat rectangular platform, lacking the usual short legs,⁴ whose upper surface is embellished with reserved scrolls and coloured fleurons in an enamel field and is set with a border of little knobs.

The Arlanza Madonna considerably facilitates the consolidation of a number of the coreless copper images, with evident interpenetrative elements, into a recognizable group. In a number of its peculiarities it is strikingly like the Husillos Madonna (pl. XLIX, *a-c*); and most of those same peculiarities correspondingly associate it with the Zouche Madonna (cf. *infra* and pl. LII, *a-c*); and several of them, with some others in addition, with the Artajona Madonna (pl. XLVIII, *a, b*). The position of our Lady's arm and that of the Child's hand on top of the book are paralleled in the Madonna of the Rüttschi Collection (pl. I, *b*); and the little symmetrical fold midway between our Lady's feet in the Wallace Collection's Madonna (pl. LIII, *b*) and the one formerly in the Yanville Collection (pl. LIII, *c, d*).

The Madonna-image reproduced in pl. LII, *a, b*,⁵ referred to above as the 'Zouche' Madonna, at one time in Lord Zouche's Collection, in 1891 passed to the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Child, formerly seated on our Lady's left knee, is missing, and her figure has unfortunately suffered, presumably in the nineteenth century, from regilding and other refurbishing. The Virgin's figure is composed of two pieces of very thick copper, embossed and chased, adroitly joined at their edges; the join, which is for the most part almost invisible, begins a little behind the front of the throne and ascends to the summit of the head. The condition of the gilded surface suggests that it had been corroded slightly—possibly naturally, possibly through some attempt to retrieve the gold originally applied—before being regilt.

Our Lady's mantle is edged with rich embroidery; a veil falls to her shoulders from

¹ Cf. C. Rohault de Fleury, *La Sainte Vierge*, vol. ii, Paris, 1878, pp. 350 f. and pl. CXXXIV.

² 23rd April 1949, at Parke-Bernet Galleries, no. 724 of *Catalogue*.

³ Cf. *Catálogo Exposición de Obras Maestras siglos XII al XVII: Colección Paula de Königsberg*, Buenos Aires, 1951,

no. 59, with pl. xxxv giving oblique view of front plus right side.

⁴ My photograph suggests, but unfortunately not clearly, that the platform may formerly have had legs.

⁵ From W.L.H. negatives, by courtesy of V. and A. Museum.

beneath her jewelled crown; there is a jewelled border to her mantle at the neck, with a large brooch to fasten it, and a correspondingly jewelled band along the lower edge of her principal garment. The jewels are glass pastes of several colours, together with a few pearls. At the centres of her eyes are little pellets of vitreous substance, of lightish variegated colour, which give an impression of being contemporary with the regilding. Her feet rest on a sort of low rectangular footstool having sloping sides engraved with small round-headed arches. Her throne, rectangular in plan and much more wide than deep, with a spirally-ornamented rod at each corner, has a cresting of the same type (i.e. sloping upward from the front towards the back, and with keyhole-shaped openings) as have the Husillos Madonna (pl. XLIX, *c*) and the Arlanza Madonna (pl. LI, *c*). The metallic facing of the front of the throne has disappeared; at the back is a plate with a scene of the Annunciation in which Mary and Gabriel are, each under a rounded arch, reserved in a lapis blue ground enriched with simple coloured rosettes; the side-plate at our Lady's right depicts St. Paul and the one at her left St. Peter, each saint in reserve in a lapis blue ground. The low rectangular stand to which the throne is affixed has a flat top ornamented with gilt scrolls (here without coloured fleurons) in a lapis blue ground, and shallow vertical sides having a simple saw-tooth pattern in enamel; the usual animal-masks are engraved on the shoulders of the short legs. The Madonna's various correspondences, in minor features as well as in general character, with several Madonna-images which we know to have been connected with Spain strongly suggest for it a Spanish origin.

An interesting detail is the reticulate pattern of our Lady's principal garment—a network of lozenges enclosing each a sort of four-pointed star in very low relief. A pattern virtually identical with it is on the exceptionally lovely 'Virgen de la Sede' of the High Altar in Seville Cathedral,¹ an image of which Gudiol says (*op. cit.*, p. 389) that it 'Sigue punto por punto el modelo vasconavarro [i.e. Basque-Navarrese] de la segunda mitad del siglo XIII'. Although textiles of analogous reticulate patterns, with one figure or another repeated in each lozenge, appear so often in art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that it would be injudicious to adduce them as primary testimony in support of any specific hypothesis, I think it reasonably safe to accept them as corroborative evidence, especially where the primary evidence on both sides seems, as here, to point to the same general area. A further parallel to the Zouche Madonna-image, although one not so close as the one presented by the 'Virgen de la Sede', appears in the Arlanza one (pl. LI, *b*), whose lozenges enclose each a circle; and another in the Artajona one (pl. XLVIII, *a*), which has a lunar crescent in each circle. In view of the construction, i.e. of sheet metal embossed and chased, of these several small Madonna-images, it is interesting to compare with them the similarly produced fine high-relief representation of St. Martial, seated, applied upon a champlevé enamelled plaque, in the Bargello Museum at Florence,² which shows him in a garment (corresponding to the diapered one of the Zouche Madonna and similarly bordered along its lower edge and similarly not quite covering an inner garment falling

¹ Cf. Gudiol, *Imagineria*, fig. 444. The silver sheathing covers completely, excepting only the faces and hands, the wooden core.

² Cf. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les Croix limousines du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1941, pl. xxxiv and pp. 153 ff. Cf. also pp. 156 f. *infra*.

to the feet) ornamented with virtually the same reticulate pattern including lunar crescents that is on the Artajona Madonna's garment. That same pattern of lozenges enclosing lunar crescents appears on the outer garment—in form like that of our Madonna and St. Martial's—of a figure, now in the church at Les Billanges,¹ made in the same way and presumably also meant for application to a flat surface but at present backless, taken to be that of St. Étienne de Muret and to have come from one of the great châsses formerly at Grandmont; a figure whose cushion supporting a reliquary presents in the pattern of its textile covering—a network of lozenges each enclosing a tiny cross with pointed arms—a close parallel to our Lady's garment in the Zouche Madonna-image.

In the Hermitage Museum, at Leningrad, is a Madonna-image (pl. LIII, *a*)² whose general character so resembles that of the several coreless copper Madonnas discussed above that obviously it must be closely associable with them. Beyond the fact that it was in the Basilewsky Collection, and as part of that collection passed to the Hermitage, I know nothing of its history. It is described (but without pictorial illustration) in the large catalogue of the Basilewsky Collection,³ from which I have extracted the principal data given herewith. In accordance with the fashion of the time, the object was there attributed to thirteenth-century Limoges. In height 29 cm., it is of copper, repoussé and chased. Our Lady, seated, as usual holds the Child on her left knee; in her right hand is a flower (? a later addition); she wears a long veil, with her crown above it; her crown and the borders of her outer garments are begemmed with cabochons and with pellets of blue or of turquoise-coloured enamel; her eyes have at their centres pellets of dark blue enamel. The Child, holding a book with His left hand, makes a gesture of benediction with His right. On the front of the throne is a design of lozenges with their axes vertical, alternately lapis blue and turquoise, their edges and a four-pointed star in each being reserved in metal. The plates forming the sides are trapezoidal in shape, and are engraved with a lattice design. The plate forming the back⁴ shows three standing women, of whom the centre one is nimbed and lifts her hands palms outwards in front of her, in *champlevé* enamel in a ground reserved and engraved.

The reserved field encloses, in addition to the women, two small four-pointed stars and some small lozenges in enamel (? and an engraved four-pointed star). An open-work cresting, whose apertures are quadrilobed, is formed from the upper parts of the plates at the sides and the back. A rod with a globular end rises at each corner of the throne. The four-pointed stars on the back, and the similar stars (which with the lines of the lozenges added form eight-pointed stars) of the front, associate this Madonna-image with Stohlman's group of copper *champlevé* enamels characterized by star-shaped designs of several sorts;⁵ for reasons into which I cannot here enter, I am inclined to think many members of that group to be of Spanish, rather than of

¹ Cf. M.-M. S. Gauthier, *Émaux limousins champlevés des XIII^e & XIV^e siècles*, Paris, 1950, pl. 46 and p. 157; Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 475 ff. and figs. 525, 526.

² Reproduced, by courtesy of the Hermitage Museum, from a photograph kindly sent me by Professor W. Frederick Stohlman. Reproduction of a photograph of

the back of the object is given in his 'The Star Group of Champlevé Enamels and its Connections', in *Art Bulletin*, xxxii (1950), fig. 14.

³ *Collection Basilewsky: Catalogue raisonné*, by A. Darcel and A. Basilewsky, Paris, 1874, no. 212.

⁴ Cf. Stohlman, *op. cit.*, fig. 14. ⁵ Stohlman, *op. cit.*

French, origin. The stand is of a type normal for the coreless copper Madonnas; it consists of a rectangular platform supported on four short legs, each with a monster's mask (here, exceptionally, provided with bead-like glass eyes) at its shoulder, its upper surface ornamented with eight-pointed star-forms in enamel, and its shallow vertical edge with a saw-tooth pattern in enamel.

Comparison of the image with a wooden-cored Madonna (pl. LVII, *a-c*) belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art suggests strongly that it has been inspired by something very like that Madonna—which, in turn, is closely associable with the 'Virgen de la Vega' (pls. LIV, *a, b*; LV, *a, c*) at Salamanca. It has the same sort of jewelled veil and decorative bands,¹ the back of the image² carries bejewelled bands disposed just as are the jewelled bands on the back of the Metropolitan Museum's image (pl. LVII, *c*), and the attitudes of our Lady and the Child are closely similar to those in the 'Virgen de la Vega'. Although the Madonna is more 'Gothic' in type than either of the images with which I have compared it, I think we can hardly resist the conclusion that it derives from their school—a conclusion accordant with our other testimony suggesting that it was made in Spain.

A Madonna-image, which is in some ways very similar to the Basilewsky one (pl. LIII, *a*) is recorded by Rupin (*op. cit.*, fig. 518; height not given) as being in the Vermeersch Collection at Brussels. A noteworthy similarity is in the cresting of the throne, which has quadrilobed apertures instead of the much more usual keyhole-shaped ones; other similarities are in the attitude of the Child and in His being shown without a crown, and in the flower in the Virgin's right hand. The image is, like several of the images above discussed, composed of two pieces of embossed copper, one for the front and the other for the back, and is correspondingly shallow. The front of the rectangular throne is enamelled with tiers of simple arches like those on the front of the wooden-cored copper-sheathed Madonna shown in our pl. XLIII, *a*. The side of the throne to our Lady's right apparently (according to Rupin's poorish reproduction) presents Gabriel, facing the front of the throne, and thus suggests that a corresponding figure of Mary was on the side of the throne to our Lady's left. The door in the back bears a representation of an elongated vase holding foliage, presumably (if it be an original part, and not a replacement such as the door of the Madonna of our pl. XLIII, *b* seems to be; cf. p. 118 *supra*) meant to symbolize the lily-pot normally a feature of Annunciation-scenes. The stand consists of a rectangular platform with shallow vertical sides, having four short legs; Rupin's picture does not permit us to distinguish its details.

Rupin cites (*op. cit.*, p. 473) a similar image, 28 cm. tall, also in the Vermeersch Collection. Its enamelled throne has on one side Gabriel and on the other Mary, and St. Peter on the door at the back.

He further illustrates (*op. cit.*, figs. 519, 520) and briefly describes (pp. 466 ff.) a very similar Madonna-image, 22.5 cm. in height, which in his time was in the Louvre Museum,³ before that in the Durand Collection, and is now in the Cluny Museum. Our Lady holds a fruit in her right hand and with her left supports the Child seated

¹ The photographs I have are on too small a scale for me to be sure that these things are, as in the Museum's image and the Salamanca one, actually, or whether they only *simulate*, applied pieces.

² Cf. Stohlman, *op. cit.*, fig. 14.

³ A more detailed, but unillustrated, description given by A. Darcel, *Notice des émaux et de l'orfèvrerie* [in the Louvre Museum], Paris, 1867, p. 44, no. D. 121.

on her left knee; both wear crowns. On the front of the rectangular throne is a design of four tiers of little arches, red and white in a ground of light blue; on the side to the Virgin's right stands Gabriel and on that to her left Mary, both nimbed. The plate at the back has a rectangular door on which is a half-figure of a nimbed angel; from the aperture for the door radiate, all round, lines reserved in a blue ground. The cresting's perforations are circular. The stand is circular, with a pendant border, and has three legs, each engraved with a mask at its shoulder, equidistant from each other, instead of the usual four; its upper surface is enriched with scrolls, terminating in fleurons, reserved in a blue ground.

In a number of respects like the Cluny Museum's Madonna-image just cited is one (pl. LIII, *b*),¹ height 22 cm., in the Wallace Collection.² The draping of our Lady's garments for the most part resembles that in the Cluny Museum's Madonna, and her hand holding the fruit is similarly high and against her bosom, while the Child, correspondingly seated high above her left knee, confers His benediction and holds His book in just the same way as in the Cluny's Madonna; He differs, however, in being nimbed and in lacking a crown. Our Lady's face seems, in spite of its hair parted above the forehead, very like her face in the London wooden-cored image (pls. XLIII, *a*; XLIV, *a*); the resemblance may indeed be no more than a chance one, but that it is not is suggested by her engraved eyebrows—the Child's are likewise engraved—and the further, and comparatively rare, parallel of her engraved eyelashes (cf. pp. 116, 119 f. *supra*). Her eyes, and the Child's, have small vitreous pellets inserted at their centres. The front of her throne is engraved with tiers of little arches like those enamelled on the Cluny's Madonna-image, while above the tiers is engraving seemingly intended to represent a capital. The throne lacks a cresting. The whole front of the image, including that of the throne, is in one piece; the back, including also the sides, is another; each of the two pieces is in unduly low relief, with the result that, with the two pieces closely fitted together, the image looks insufficiently rounded. The back of the throne has a small narrow door engraved with one large upright scroll; flanking the doorway are engraved two saints under Gothic arches, and beyond them two more, the throne's back and sides being all in one curved, approximately semi-circular, piece. The throne lacks enamelling, all its decorative elements, whether pictorial or conventional, being engraved in simulation of such *champlevé* enamels as normally adorn the thrones of the coreless copper Madonna-images. Below the image is a sort of shallow pedestal inscribed *AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA DOMINVS TECV BENE- DIT*; beneath the inscription is a wavy line simulating the saw-tooth or wavy patterns enamelled along the shallow edges of the stands of such Madonna-images as those reproduced in our pls. XLVIII, *a*; L, *b*; LII, *a*; LIII *a*. The pedestal rests on a low stand whose rectangular flat upper surface is ornamented with large scrolls in reserve and coloured fleurons and pierced at each corner by a hole suggesting a former attachment of knob-like additions paralleling those of the Husillos Madonna-image (pl. XLIX, *a*); a mask is, as usual, engraved on the shoulder of each leg of the stand.

¹ Reproduced by courtesy of the Wallace Collection.

² Room III, no. 287. Mr. Francis Watson informs me that the object may well have come from the Niewerkerke

Collection, and perhaps was bought at the Flandrin Sale on 7th May 1866.

Closely related to the Madonna in the Wallace Collection is one (pl. LIII, *c*, *d*)¹ now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.² It is 22.7 cm. high, constructed of thick sheet copper embossed, chased, and engraved, its throne enriched with champlevé enamels. The Virgin's eyes have centres of dark blue glass; the Child's are of copper alone. Our Lady wears a crown (incomplete) over a veil whose folds are almost identical with those of the image shown in pl. LIII, *b*, but which, just as in the image of pl. LIII, *a*, here conceals (instead of, as in pl. LIII, *b*, exposing) the parting of the hair in front; her robe is lined with vair; below her waist, which is encircled by a girdle, her garments fall in folds which are almost the same as the corresponding folds in the Madonna of pl. LIII, *b*; and, as in that Madonna, she holds a fruit at a height well above her bent elbow. Her feet rest upon something (presumably a carpet) which is in one piece with the front section of the image. The Child is in a sitting position above His Mother's left knee, with His feet—just as in the image of pl. LIII, *b*—touching it, holds His book in just the same way as in that image, and similarly raises His hand in blessing; He is here correspondingly crownless, but He lacks a corresponding nimbus. The throne is of the same type as the throne of pl. LIII, *b*, its front in one piece with the front section of the image, and its sides and back (pl. LIII, *d*) shaped from a single copper plate bent in a curve; it has, however, an openwork cresting (lacking in pl. LIII, *b*) with keyhole-shaped apertures, in one piece with that plate. The front is perfunctorily engraved on each side with tiers of narrow arches surmounted by a Gothic arch. In the back is a large arched opening, made for a door (now missing), flanked by Gabriel at our Lady's left and Mary at her right, reserved in a ground of palish blue in which are also large reserved scrolls. I think we need hardly doubt that the Madonna-images of pls. LIII, *b* and LIII, *c* were made in the same workshop. The low stand belonging to the present image is of copper sheet, oval in plan, its vertical wall roughly engraved all round with trilobed pointed arches supported upon short columns; under each arch is what is possibly meant to represent a tall narrow opening, but equally well could be no more than a conventional device for filling a space otherwise too bare.

Clearly also from the same workshop is a coreless copper Madonna-image, 24 cm. in height, in the Musée Saint-Raymond, at Toulouse.³ Our Lady, the Child on her left knee, wears a crown with fleurons; the eyes of both are of sky-blue glass; on one side of her throne, which is surmounted by an openwork cresting, is Gabriel, and on the other Mary, each reserved in a dark blue ground; in the back is a small round-topped door carrying a figure of St. Peter reserved in an enamelled ground (compare the sheathed Madonna-image in the Metropolitan Museum [cf. pl. XLVI, *a*, *b* and pp. 120 f. *supra*] and an image cited by Rupin as in the Vermeersch Collection [cf. p. 134 *supra*]). The image is mounted on a quadrangular stand having four legs, ornamented with scrolls and coloured fleurons, very similar to the stand of the Wallace Collection's Madonna (pl. LIII, *b*). In its general form it differs but little from that image and from the one shown in pl. LIII, *c*, *d*, formerly in the Comte de Yanville's collection. Comparing the Wallace Collection's statuette, and the Yanville one, with the Toulouse

¹ Reproduced by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

² No. 17.190.348. Part of the great Morgan Gift in 1917; previously in the collection of Comte de Yanville.

³ Cf. *Catalogue des musées archéologiques de la Ville de Toulouse*, Toulouse, 1892, no. 921, p. 338, from which, and from a postcard photograph by H. Basuyau & Cie., Toulouse, the present description has been taken.

image one observes among them only minor divergencies. I know nothing of the provenance of the Toulouse Madonna-image, but its presence at Toulouse perhaps hints at a Spanish origin rather than a French, in view of the medieval connexions, often adduced, between Toulouse and Compostela.

The Basilewsky Collection contained a second Madonna-image,¹ of the same sort as the Basilewsky one shown in our pl. LIII, *a*, but, being 39.5 cm. tall, somewhat larger.

From Madonna-images like those of pl. LIII, *b*, *c*, *d*, and the Soltikoff-Basilewsky one, it is but a step to still smaller ones composed, image and throne included, of no more than two pieces of sheet copper, embossed, chased, and engraved, fitted together along their edges. One such, about 10 cm. high,² in The Victoria and Albert Museum (M 24-1955), clearly imitates objects of the kind above discussed.

A Madonna-image, whose height is given as 14.5 cm., reproduced by Rupin (*op. cit.*, figs. 222, 223), although in general character like the images shown in our pls. XLVIII; L, *b*; LI; LII; LIII, *a*; LIII, *b*; LIII, *c*, *d*, differs from them in that the front part of the figure is champlévé enamelled white, green, and lapis blue. Both Virgin and Child are crowned; her right hand, well away from her body, is shaped as though grasping something; His left hand holds a book; His right is lifted in benediction. The throne is rectangular, with vertical rods, two of which are knobbed, at its corners; along its top is a cresting (seemingly sloping forward at the sides) with keyhole-shaped apertures; there is a square door with a circle at its centre; the figure is on a stand having a circular platform and four short legs.

In Salamanca Cathedral is a remarkable Madonna-image (pls. LIV, *a*, *b*; LV, *a*, *c*),³ known popularly as 'La Virgen de la Vega'. Formerly the titular image of a Salaman-tine monastery belonging to the canons regular of San Isidoro de León, it was removed, when its church fell into ruin, to the church of San Esteban, in whose great Baroque retablo it remained until taken to the New Cathedral and given the place of honour due it as being, since 1618, the image of the patroness of Salamanca. It is 72 cm. in height. Although in a number of ways it resembles the images of our pls. XLIII-XLVII (except XLVII, *b*), and is like them in being constituted of wood covered with sheets of copper-gilt,⁴ it so differs from them in a number of respects as to suggest that it was not a product of the particular industry to which most of the copper-sheathed Madonna-images, and presumably also most of the coreless ones discussed above, would appear to be assignable. It differs from all the Madonnas with which we have had to do in having our Lady's face, her feet, the Child's head (which is made in two pieces fastened together by small pins), and the forearms of both, cast in bronze, and their hands of bronze sheet cut and filed and bent into shape. The sheathing, modelled upon the wooden core by hammering, is attached to it by small nails. A notable feature of the image, further distinguishing it from all with which we have as yet had to do, but

¹ Previously in the Soltikoff Collection. See Darcel and Basilewsky, *op. cit.*, no. 213, for full description.

² Cf. *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, 2nd S., xxxii (1920), pp. 136 ff. with fig. 9c.

³ Reproduced from negs. Foto Mas, by courtesy of Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispanico.

⁴ According to M. E. Gómez-Moreno's *Mil joyas* . . . ,

pp. 170 f. (referring to a large reproduction in pl. 276) from which much of my information herewith presented has been taken. Bertaux, however, in *Exposición Retrospectiva de Arte*.—1908, speaks (p. 319) of its garments as sheathed with *silver-gilt*; his text is accompanied by two smallish reproductions (pls. 105, 106) of the object in colours.

paralleled on a Madonna-image, belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (pl. LVII, *a-c*) and to be described below, is the application of bands of copper-gilt richly adorned with imitation gems, blue, green, and red in colour, in decorative settings attached by tiny rivets. These settings consist each of a frame (rectangular, circular, or oval) to hold the gem, with an ornamental rim through which pass the rivets for attachment; of several different forms, they look to have been made with dies.

Our Lady's eyes are of enamel, white with black centres; the Child's are blue. In her right hand was something, presumably a flower, now missing; her left is at the left knee of the Child, who is seated frontally on her left knee, His left hand supporting a book, His right raised in benediction. The Virgin's head is covered by a veil, falling over her shoulders, enriched, as are her other garments, with stamped ornament and with applied bands of copper-gilt set with imitation gems; a little of her hair, parted in the middle, shows below the veil; the crown formerly above the veil is missing. A thick circular cabochon of rock-crystal is at her neck. Her feet, in very pointed shoes of a diapered material, rest upon a sloping footstool or carpet enamelled with rosettes and other small conventional designs. The Child's garments, like hers, are adorned with stamped ornament and with applied bands set with imitation gems; His hair comes to a point at the middle of His forehead.

Below the image proper is a shallow pedestal whose front has the same five-sided form as have the fronts of the London Madonna (pl. XLIII, *a*), the Huesca Madonna (pl. XLV, *a*), and the Morgan Madonna (pl. XLVI, *a*); it is ornamented with a line of little circular punch-marks. At the bottom is a shallow base, correspondingly five-sided, faced with sheet-metal stamped with the same circular punch. Punch-marks, of different form but of much the same size, are in the meshes of the lattice engraved on the front of the base of the London Madonna; and on the base of the Morgan Madonna is a sort of lattice-pattern stamped with a tiny circular punch. A similar punch was used to adorn the pieces (which quite possibly are not the original ones) at present on the front of the Morgan Madonna's throne.

The champlévé enamelled plaques on the throne of the 'Virgen de la Vega' appear to be fairly closely associable with certain of the plaques of the group preserved in Orense Cathedral (cf. p. 140 *infra*)—a group which evidence (cf. p. 156 *infra*) would seem to assign to about the end of the third quarter of the twelfth century. About 1170–5, when the Orense plaques may be presumed to have been made, there were, as contemporary Salamantine records cited by D. Julio González inform us, goldsmiths at Salamanca—in 1163 a certain 'Don Paian aurifaber', and in 1164 the same man and his son 'Don Wilielmus aurifaber' (the latter mentioned again in 1200)¹—whom we may reasonably suppose to have been able to execute, in gilded copper or bronze, such simple goldsmith's work as that of the two figures (apart from the enamelled plaques on the throne) of the 'Virgen de la Vega'. And if in Salamanca of the third quarter of the twelfth century there were indeed craftsmen capable of such work, it would seem by no means unreasonable to believe that they (or perhaps colleagues more specialized) might have been inspired by copper champlévé enamels such as,

¹ Cf. Julio González, 'La Catedral vieja de Salamanca y el probable autor de la Torre del Gallo', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, xvi (1943), p. 44.

for example, those of what I have termed the 'Silos Group',¹ to produce as well the enamelled plaques of the throne. A 'Iohannes aurifaber' figures in a Salamantine document of 1220; and in one of 1223 a 'Don Guillén de Limoges', and elsewhere a 'D. Pedro de Limoges'. Señor González has written me that of D. Guillén's '*oficio*' he knows nothing, but that the documents he has examined suggest that D. Guillén might well not have been a native of Salamanca. He tells us, in his memoir, that D. Pedro was a 'notable personaje que fué alcalde y rico, con hornos propios' who 'pudo recibir el sobrenombre por sus productos, por su procedencia o por ambas cosas a la vez'. He informs me, however, that he does not recall any document in which D. Pedro figures as an '*orfebre*' nor one in which the purpose of his '*hornos*' appears, and that he could have become an alcalde of Salamanca even had he not been a '*natural*' there.

The hieraticism of its figures suggests that the 'Virgen de la Vega' may well be the earliest of the copper-sheathed Madonna-images with which we have had to do; *Mil joyas* . . ., which generally presents a conservative view, says (p. 170) that it appears to date from the end of the twelfth century. There are a number of small parallelisms between the image and the one at Breuil-au-fâ (pl. XLVII, *a*): our Lady's hair waves above her forehead, from a central parting, in almost the same way in both; in both images her eyes, and the Child's as well, are (although in the Breuil-au-fâ image somewhat the more elaborated) similar in character; in the two images the bands and the large gems at the neck resemble each other; in both the book is supported by the Child in just the same way; and in both the Virgin's left hand holds the Child's left knee and her right is level with her girdle. But whereas the 'Virgen de la Vega' retains much of a Romanesque character, the Breuil-au-fâ figure distinctly displays effects of Gothicizing influences.²

The throne of the 'Virgen de la Vega' differs in a number of its features from all the thrones with which we have above had to do. It is hexagonal, having a broad front extending to right and to left of the image proper. The cresting is a modern addition; as, presumably, are also the knobs rising at the corners.³ Each of the throne's sides is a plate with a vertical row of four pointed ovals in champlevé enamel, each oval enclosing a winged figure in (except for its coloured nimbus) reserve, in an enamel ground having coloured fleurons between the ovals. I judge (but from photographs alone) these enamels to be similar in quality to the enamels of the small oblong plaques, ornamented with reserved scrolls ending in coloured fleurons, along the upper and lower plates composing the sides and the back of the throne; and, also, to those of the footstool or carpet on which rest our Lady's feet. Whether all these enamels were original elements of the object, or whether perhaps some of them might have been made, as replacements or adjuncts, when the modern cresting was added, I hesitate to assert

¹ Cf. W. L. Hildburgh, *Medieval Spanish Enamels* (hereinafter referred to as *M.S.E.*), Oxford University Press, 1936, chap. V, 'The Twelfth-century Copper Champlevé Enamels of Spain'.

² There is so striking a resemblance between the right-side (profile) of the 'Virgen de la Vega' and the corresponding view of the Arlanza Madonna-image (cf. pp.

130 f. *supra*) as to suggest that the latter may have been directly influenced by the former. Neither right-side view is reproduced here.

³ Rupin's fig. 517, which suggests a retouched photograph as its original, omits a number of details; and in it the Child's hair is shown tousled.

lacking contact closer than merely through a photograph. It should, however, be noted that the enamels appear to be pretty closely related to the group of enamelled fragments (presumably remains of a large reliquary-casket or an altar-frontal) at Orense;¹ the scrollwork is very like that on some of the smaller Orense plaques, and the vesicas enclosing each an angel are virtually duplicated on one Orense plaque (pl. LV, *d*)² and almost as closely by five others whose principal axes are horizontal instead of vertical.

The five plates forming the sides and the back of the throne lack enamels, but are instead marked all over with the same punch, impressing a circle enclosing an equal-armed cross having rounded ends, which was employed on the lower members of the front of the object. Slender columns, each with base and capital in relief, cover the edges of the plates where they meet; and on these columns rest semicircular arches between which are small crenellated towers. Those columns, arches, and towers, all of which are in relief and applied, are ornamented in champlevé enamels with scrolls and fleurons and parallel closely corresponding features of the Orense fragments,³ thus serving as further testimony indicating a relationship between them and the 'Virgen de la Vega'. Standing beneath each arch is a slender puppet-like Apostle, barefooted and holding a book; the figures, although corresponding to the more realistic Apostles of the Orense fragments, differ from them in a number of respects. Whereas the Orense Apostles are wholly of metal, well shaped and with surfaces carefully modelled in relief, and stand out upon champlevé enamelled backgrounds which include their respective nimbi, the Salamanca Apostles are over-slender, display very little modelling in either breadth or depth, and are (all but the heads and feet) champlevé enamelled in a style reminiscent of Byzantine cloisonné. The heads, like those of the Orense Apostles, are in moderately high relief, and correspondingly have pellets of vitreous material for eyes. The Apostles of both sets are shown with feet well apart, and just as in the Orense set some element of the enamelled ornament has been placed symmetrically between the feet, so in the Salamanca set there is one of the little circular punchmarks correspondingly situated.

I am inclined to think that technically these Apostles are a logical development from figures such as those of the retable of San Miguel in Excelsis⁴ and those of the so-called 'frontal' from Silos,⁵ now in the Burgos Provincial Museum, which have only the heads in relief and the remainder in flat champlevé enamels. And I am further inclined, as a result of this and of certain other circumstances, to think that the throne of the 'Virgin de la Vega' embodies enamels of Spanish origin intermediate between those of the San Miguel retable and those of the Orense fragments. It would seem no more than natural to attribute them to the same period as the other metallic parts of the 'Virgin de la Vega'; but as to that I am not prepared to be dogmatic.

¹ Cf. *M.S.E.*, fig. 29 *a* and pp. 114 ff.; also, p. 156 *infra*.

² From neg. Foto Mas, reproduced by courtesy of the Instituto Amatller.

³ Cf. *M.S.E.*, fig. 29 *a*.

⁴ Cf. Huici and Juaristi, *op. cit.*, *passim*; *M.S.E.*, figs. 27 *a*, 27 *b*, and pp. 102 ff.

⁵ Cf. *M.S.E.*, pp. 52 ff., with figs. 6 *a*–6 *d* and list of references to previous publication. This well-known

masterpiece has in recent years been identified (cf. M. Gómez-Moreno, 'La urna de Sto. Domingo de Silos', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, xiv [1940–1], pp. 493–502) as the vertical component of the front of a sort of tabernacle erected to cover the stone tomb of St. Dominic of Silos, in the Abbey of Silos, whose superior component, set sloping, was the so-called 'frontal', ornamented in 'vernís brun', still at Silos.

In the Cluny Museum is an object which I take to be closely associable with the 'Virgen de la Vega'—a large plaque (H. 34 cm.), presumed to have formed part of an altar, having vertical sides and a top divided into three lobes.¹ It is of wood, the front sheathed with copper-gilt impressed with punch-marks, upon which have been applied three figures, in relief, symbolizing the Annunciation. The garments of the three figures are enamelled in just the same way as the applied figures on the throne of the 'Virgen de la Vega', and the figures correspondingly have faces of gilded metal and eyes represented by inserted glass pellets. The two arches are semicircular, like the arches above the Apostles on the throne, and the capital supporting them is of virtually the same form as the capitals of the throne. The punch-marks parallel closely those on the analogous Madonna-image in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (pl. LVII, c); and the decorated applied settings of the little cabochons begemming the copper sheathing provide a further parallel with those two Madonnas. Almost certainly the plaque and the two Madonna-images came from the same workshop. Suggestions of some affinity between the plaque and the Orense Saints are the circular thing between Mary's feet, and the two applied concave nimbi, of sheet metal engraved with ornament, rare in association with a copper champlevé enamel but paralleled on the fine plaques, each of a seated saint in high relief against an enamelled ground, presumed to have formed parts of a great altar at Grandmont, which I take to be related to the Orense fragments (cf. p. 156 *infra*).

A châsse (pl. LVI, c)² in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, of whose history nothing seems to be known beyond that it came from the Mannheimer Collection, displays the same technique as the two Madonna-images, and some of the punched impressions on it are almost identical with those on the plaque.

No one of these three objects has, so far as I know, any recorded connexion with the Limousin. There is, however, in the Limousin an object—the very dilapidated large Châsse of St. Dulcide, at Chamberet, Corrèze (cf. Rupin, *op. cit.*, figs. 177–81 and pp. 116 ff.)—which may well be related to the group in question. The middle section of the front of the Chamberet châsse's sloping roof is occupied by a rectangular plaque (*ibid.*, figs. 177, 179) carrying a figure in relief of Christ seated, surrounded by a number of cabochons in stamped ornamental mountings, the corners of the plaque being respectively covered by four approximately triangular plates of which each is embossed with a half-figure, of a Symbol of an Evangelist, enamelled in colours which are neither separated by metallic divisions nor polished—a technique which, as Rupin remarks (p. 116) is 'presque unique dans les émaux de ce genre'.³ The middle section of the back of the roof is occupied by a large enamelled plaque, 21 × 15.5 cm., serving as the châsse's door, depicting the Burial of St. Dulcide (*ibid.*, figs. 181, 180). As that discrepant plaque seemingly is the châsse's sole feature pointing to an association with St. Dulcide, and as it occupies a place originally otherwise occupied, I think that we

¹ Cf. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, pl. 17. Provenance not stated.

² Reproduced by courtesy of the Rijksmuseum.

³ A copper incense-boat (navette), attributed to the thirteenth century, in the Vich Diocesan Museum, has on its upper surface two half-figures of angels, executed in this same rare technique, having wings of the same form as

those of the Symbols above cited, and seemingly very similar to the Man of that set. Cf. J. Gudiol i Cunill, *Nocions d'Arqueologia Sagrada Catalana*, 2nd edit., Vich, 1933, fig. 323; or Vich Museum's postcard, Series C, no. 12 (Fototipia Thomas, Barcelona, no. 1077).

need not accept that *châsse* as testimony implying that the three objects in question were produced in the Limousin region.

The implications that those three objects should be credited to Spain rather than to France seem to me to be buttressed by two processional crosses, from Småland and now in the Stockholm Museum, of wood sheathed with copper and embodying enamelled figures of the same metal, which look to be closely related to the 'Virgen de la Vega'. The fronts of these crosses are shown in pl. LVI, *a* (Näfvvelsjö) and *b* (Ukna).¹ Together with the 'Virgen de la Vega', the Cluny Museum's plaque, the *châsse* in the Rijksmuseum, and by inference with the Metropolitan Museum's analogous Madonna-image, the crosses are representative of a group of enamels, comparatively rare, which I take to be associable with Spain rather than with the Limousin area. Characteristic of this group are: (*a*) *champlevé* enamelled figures or architectural details in relief and having curved surfaces; (*b*) very formalized lines of metal in reserve, confining the colours and serving to mark the folds, etc.; (*c*) hollows carefully filled with the vitreous pastes; (*d*) fleshy parts of the figures bare of enamel; (*e*) the use of pellets of vitreous substance for the eyes and for embellishing garments; (*f*) grounds of sheet metal, upon which the enamelled reliefs are applied, sown with repeated impressions made by small punches; (*g*) 'gems' (pastes) set in little ornamental frames affixed to the grounds.

While there seems to remain no record of when or how the crosses in question came to be preserved at Näfvvelsjö and Ukna,² in an out-of-the-way part of Sweden, it would seem but natural to presume that they were brought to their local churches by Swedes who had made the pilgrimage to the far-famed shrine of St. James. And since it was considerably easier for pilgrims from Scandinavia, as from elsewhere in northern Europe, to go by sea, we may well suppose that the crosses more probably were bought at Compostela, rather than at Limoges situated on a route long and troublesome for pilgrims from the Baltic lands. I perceive no good reason to think that, as might be suggested, Limousin metalwork was sent for sale to Compostela, itself noted for the making of ecclesiastical metalwork.³ It may be remarked, furthermore, that Santiago is only some 200 miles, as the crow flies, from Salamanca, whose 'Virgen de la Vega' has enamels, of an exceptional nature, seemingly closely associable with our crosses; and it lies correspondingly no more than some fifty miles from Orense, for whose cathedral were made the enamelled fragments there preserved, which are in a number of ways related to the enamels of the 'Virgen de la Vega' (cf. p. 140 *supra*). Thus there is a good case for a surmise that the two crosses may have been made in Spain and have been brought thence by returning Swedish pilgrims.

A fragment, an eight-lobed plaque utilized in a cross from Mosjö Church, Närke, also in the Stockholm Museum (Inv. no. 7306), further suggests that those two crosses were brought from Spain. It depicts the Saviour standing, with arms extended, reserved in a ground of unpolished enamel of poorish quality. In the museum at Neufchâtel-en-Bray is a well-known complete cross, on whose back is an eight-lobed

¹ Reproduced by courtesy of the Statens Historiska Museum.

² Information kindly sent me by Dr. O. Källström, of the Stockholm Museum.

³ Cf. *M.S.E.*, p. 28. On records of what would appear to have been twelfth-century *champlevé* enamels there, *ibid.*, pp. 73-78.

plaque depicting Him seated, of workmanship so similar as to indicate that it was made in the same workshop.¹

Of eight-lobed plaques on which our Lord is depicted, from the backs of processional crosses, I know eleven. I hope to present, on some other occasion, a fuller study of these plaques and their connexions; here it must suffice to observe that, of those eleven, one (pl. LVIII, *a*)² was bought in a minor town of Spain, four others have associations also suggesting Spain as their source, four are without suggestive histories, and only one (the one at Neufchâtel-en-Bray) appears to have any recorded association with France—and that association is virtually valueless to us, because the church in which it was formerly preserved is so far from the Limousin area that we cannot cite it as implication of a Limousin origin. Thus there is what would seem to be a preponderance of testimony to the effect that the plaques in question were either made in Spain or under strong Spanish influence, and nothing whatever to suggest that they should be attributed to Limoges. And evidence of a good background for them in medieval Spain is provided by the great enamelled retable of the Virgin and Child at San Miguel in Excelsis and by the eight-lobed frames in the ornamentation of Hispano-Arabic ivory caskets of about A.D. 1100,³ and, most notably, by a stucco decoration, datable about 1230–50, in the Cistercian monastery of Las Huelgas, near Burgos,⁴ whose importance as evidence is enhanced by its situation, for I am inclined to think that a centre for the production of copper champlevé enamels then existed in the vicinity of Burgos.⁵ It is perhaps worth observing that five of the eight-lobed plaques belong to Stohlman's 'Star Group'.⁶

The plaque reproduced in pl. LVIII, *a* includes a feature seemingly very exceptional in copper champlevé enamels; i.e. scrolls whose gilded stems have, along their centres, instead of a plain surface or a simple engraved line, a line of metal—that is, each stem is formed of a line of enamel bordered on each side by a line of metal. I have found but few examples of similar scrolls: (1) on a small circular plaque in the Musée Adrien-Dubouché, at Limoges;⁷ (2) on a small châsse, formerly in the Martin le Roy Collection;⁸ and (3) on a ciborium (pl. LVIII, *b*, *c*)⁹ in the Barcelona Municipal Museum of Art. I have no record of previous ownerships of the first two of these; the third was long preserved in the church of the small parish of Cerdaña, near Seo de Urgel, in Catalonia, and was acquired by the Museum in 1918.¹⁰ A number of its peculiar features, as well as its provenance, suggest strongly that, despite its several close similarities to the famous 'Ciborium of Alpais',¹¹ it was made in Spain. So, I think, we may well accept the enamelled scrolls of the plaque of our pl. LVIII, *a* as yet another indication that it is of Spanish origin. The technique of a line of enamel

¹ Cf. Paul Thoby, *Les croix limousines de la fin du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1953, no. 29 with pls. xvi, xviii, and references to previous publication.

² Now on loan in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

³ Cf. *M.S.E.*, pp. 103 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Al-Andalus*, viii (1943), pp. 209–54, pl. 7.

⁵ Cf. *M.S.E.*, pp. 125, 94 n.

⁶ Stohlman, 'The Star Group of Champlevé Enamels'.

⁷ Cf. *Musée Municipal de Limoges: Exposition Émaux Limousins XII^e, XIII^e, XIV^e Siècles: Catalogue*, M.-M. S.

Gauthier, Limoges, 1948, no. 26 (not illustrated).

⁸ Cf. Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue raisonné de la Collection Martin le Roy*, Paris, 1906, no. 28.

⁹ Reproduced by courtesy of the Barcelona Municipal Museum of Art, and (from neg. Foto Mas) of Instituto Amatller.

¹⁰ Cf. *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, vi (1920), pp. 774–80.

¹¹ Gauthier, *op. cit.*, frontispiece; Rupin, *op. cit.*, fig. 182; etc.

confined between two lines of metal reserved in an engraved (there with tiny dots instead of the jagged lines here) appears also on the Musée du Louvre's two plaques representing St. Francis receiving the Stigmata,¹ one of which came from the Balearic Islands, taken from the Moslems and annexed by Aragon about 1286.

The very interesting Madonna-image shown in pl. LVII, *a-c*² is (Ac. no. 17.190.125) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Seemingly nothing is known of its history beyond that it formed part of the collection of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, presented to the Museum in 1917. In general style, as well as technically, it so resembles the 'Virgen de la Vega' that I think it must be attributed to a corresponding provenance. Approximately 37 cm. in height, it is comparable in size with such Madonna-images as those reproduced in our pls. XLIII-XLVI and XLVII, *a*, rather than with the Salamanca one, whose height is 72 cm. Like those several Madonnas, it consists of a wooden core³ covered with thin sheets of gilded copper; and, like them, it shows our Lady fully frontal, holding the Child, also fully frontal, on her left knee. Both she and the Child wear crowns. Just as on the 'Virgen de la Vega', there are strips of sheet metal, enriched with 'gems' similar to the 'gems' on that image and in settings similarly applied on their surfaces; while those strips are in positions which do not precisely parallel those of the corresponding strips on the 'Virgen de la Vega', they resemble them enough to suggest a broadly common origin for the feature.⁴ Although from the beginning both Virgin and Child wore crowns, there are some reasons for believing that her crown in pl. LVII, *b* is a replacement of her original one; and, it being easily removable, she has in consequence been shown without it in pl. LVII, *a, c*.

There are so many small resemblances between the two Madonna-images that one cannot but feel that either one of them served as model for the other or that a common model—conceivably a begemmed silver-sheathed image as yet undisclosed—has served for both. Among those resemblances may be remarked our Lady's eyes, of vitreous substance set in pointed ovals having rims in noticeable relief; her long straight nose; her hands shaped (as are the Child's) from stout sheet cut and bent; the gesture and position of her right hand; the attitude and position of the Child, with hair correspondingly coming down to a point in front; the position of His book when properly set,⁵ and the form of the base and its covering with thin sheet metal stamped with small circular marks.

Our Lady's throne is rectangular and hollow; its door is missing (cf. pl. LVII, *c*). It is interesting to observe that, whether through accident or by design, there is no cresting, because the present cresting of the throne of the 'Virgen de la Vega' is modern. Fitting the front are two plates, each enamelled with a running scroll reserved in a

¹ Gauthier, *op. cit.*, no. 13; Rupin, *op. cit.*, figs. 545, 546; Stohman, 'Star Group . . .', nos. 22, 23; *M.S.E.*, p. 127.

² Reproduced by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

³ I am much inclined to think that the core of the present image is fairly closely associable with the wooden Madonnas at Panzano, Iguácel, and Agüero, all situated in places in the Province of Huesca and all attributed by Gudiol (cf. *Imagineria*, pp. 340 f.) to the Huesca-Jaca School.

⁴ Lest it be suggested that the present image is a modern production based on the 'Virgen de la Vega', I should record that, through the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Rorimer, I had opportunity to examine it repeatedly, under a magnifying glass, and that I concluded that the metal-work is in virtually the condition it had when it left the medieval craftsman's hand.

⁵ In pl. LVII, *a, b*, it is shown wrongly set; a hole in the book, and a projection from the hollow of the Child's hand to fit it, indicate the proper setting.

lapis blue ground. The sides (cf. pl. LVII, *a*) are covered with thin metal stamped with the same small circular marks as on the base; and upon this, on each side, has been applied a lozenge-shaped champlevé enamelled plaque at whose centre is a large rosette in four blues (light, sky, lapis, and dark), red, light green, and white. The back is stamped, round its doorway, with the same marks found on the sides and on the base. On the throne's upper surface (cf. pl. LVII, *c*) the same, or very similar, marks appear.

Although of the wooden-cored Madonna-images illustrated in our pls. XLIII–XLVII, only two have, so far as I know, much history of any value attaching to them, we have the further, but equivocal information that another, described as 'of the same kind', was until recent times preserved in Navarre, and that two others, analogously described, were at Eymoutiers and Vallières until about the middle of the nineteenth century. The La Sauvetat image not only is obviously late in date but has been so altered that it is of but little value as evidence; and of neither the London Madonna nor the Morgan one have I any record prior to about the last quarter of the nineteenth century. To what we know concerning wooden-cored images we may, with due caution, reasonably apply such historical data as relate, directly or by implication, to a number of the coreless ones, which as a group would appear to be very closely associable with the cored ones. Of the coreless ones (from which the enigmatic 'Vierge de Moussac' may, because of its greater similarities to the cored ones, reasonably be excepted, the images illustrated in pls. XLVIII, XLIX, and LI have definite associations with Spain, and the one of pl. L, *b* a presumptive association. But as, on the other hand, not one of the coreless ones has, so far as I know, had any ancient connexion with France, I think we may presume the coreless group as a whole (with possibly a few exceptions not at present identifiable) to have been produced in Spain. We are fortunate in that four of the wooden-cored Madonna-images are still in situations where we may well believe them to have been for centuries—one at Huesca, capital of the Spanish Province of that name, another in the Département of Haute-Vienne and only a few miles from Limoges itself, a third (the fourteenth-century one at La Sauvetat) in the Limousin region, and the fourth (of a somewhat different type) at Salamanca.

It would be easy to reiterate the claim, which repeatedly has been advanced, that our Madonna-images are of Limousin workmanship, on the ground that one of the wooden-cored ones actually is in a small church not far from the city of Limoges and another is at La Sauvetat, while a coreless one presumably very closely related to them is known to have come from Moussac-sur-Vienne. But it would be misleading thus to distract attention from the crucial (as we shall have occasion to perceive) Madonna at Huesca.

Complication is introduced into the question whether the Madonna-images of our groups were made in France or in Spain, by the situation of Limoges on one of the most important of the pilgrimage routes through France on the way to the great shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostela,¹ visited annually by thousands of

¹ Of the numerous accounts of the pilgrimages to Compostela, probably the fullest and best is in *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, by L. Vázquez de Parga,

J. M. Lacarra, and J. Uría Riu, 3 vols., Madrid, 1948. The descriptions of the routes are in vol. i, by Lacarra.

pilgrims; by the passing of the '*Camino francés*'—the route through Spain of the pilgrims, whether French or other, coming from France—not far from Huesca; by the circumstance that there were many so-called 'Francos' (foreigners who had come from all parts of Europe) who helped to repopulate the territory conquered from the Moslems;¹ by the activity of the powerful Cluniac influence all along the route through Spain; by a Decree of the General Synod of 1215 that thereafter each abbot (or prior) of a house of a religious order had to report in person every third year to the head of his order;² and by the very considerable general commerce carried on, between Spain and France, along the pilgrimage routes and in the districts adjacent to them.³ So, neither the presence in the Province of Huesca, or in its vicinity, of objects which had been made in France, nor the presence at Limoges, or in its vicinity, of objects which had been made in Spain, need in any degree surprise us. It will be well, therefore, to scrutinize carefully, and then to compare, the technical and historical backgrounds of our Madonna-images.

For such a comparison there are in the present case three principal lines of inquiry: the particularities of iconography and of style of the carving which served as the core; the supplementary treatment (here the sheathing with metal) of that core; and the nature, fashion, and subjects of the enamelling. The second of those matters, the plating of a wooden core with thin sheets of metal shaped to fit it, is, as intimated above (pp. 118 f.), insufficiently differentiated, so far as France and Spain are concerned, for us to rely on it as discriminatory testimony. The enamelling, the subject of our third line of inquiry, is in itself so controversial a matter that we shall do well to defer its consideration until we have at least begun examination of the first line. To partisans of the hypothesis that almost all copper champlevé enamels of 'southern' types were produced at or near Limoges or (if not indeed actually produced in that neighbourhood) by craftsmen trained there, the presence on our Madonna-images of such enamels stamps those images as indubitably French; and as 'French, Limoges' they have repeatedly (and so far as I know unquestioningly) been labelled and catalogued. I have dealt elsewhere,⁴ in some detail, with the validity of the broad claims made by scholars who habitually attribute to Limousin (or Limousin-trained) craftsmen all twelfth- and thirteenth-century copper champlevé enamels; I shall return (cf. pp. 154 f. *infra*) to some of the questions involved in the acceptability of those claims.

Two of the Madonnas of our wooden-cored group are situated—one in the convent of Santa Clara at Huesca, the other in the church at Breuil-au-fâ—in localities where (or in the near vicinities of which) we may very reasonably presume them to have been brought fairly soon after they were made. Consequently, should we find close iconographical parallels to either one of them as a feature repeated among other sculptured Madonna-images, we may, I think, with some confidence attribute it to the consonant area—in the one case to Spain, in the other to France.

Sculptured images of our Lady seated and holding her Son before her—the Mother of God in Majesty—were, during the twelfth century, of common occurrence in both

¹ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 469-78.

² Cf. p. 153, n. 3 *infra*.

³ Cf. Lacarra, *op. cit.*, pp. 490 ff.

⁴ *M.S.E.*, chap. II, 'Incertitudes of the Limousin Hypothesis', pp. 10-22.

France and Spain. She herself served, in these, as throne for our Lord; and in many French, as well as in some Spanish, twelfth-century images she is shown completely frontal, with the Child, likewise facing straight forward, seated centrally in her lap. Usually her own seat is, if not a throne, a throne-like bench, and as Queen of Heaven she wears a crown; the Child, fully clothed and often crowned, holds a book in His left hand and raises His right in benediction. Widely distributed in France of the twelfth century, and common in its southern areas, this priestly type—the *Sedes Sapientiae*—was well represented also in Spain. But even during the twelfth century the rigid hieraticism of the type tended to relax, and by the early thirteenth there were many images of the Virgin and Child, in Spain as well as in France, in which, although our Lady remained austere frontal, the Child—at first still fully frontal but later turning in some degree—had been moved from His central position to one of her knees (almost invariably the left), upon which He sat or stood or rested in some intermediate posture. As time went on, images of the Virgin and Child became less inspired by the thought of her as Queen of Heaven and more by that of her as the tender Mother of our Lord, and in them the Holy Child came to be represented, not primarily as the Son of God bringing salvation to a sinful world, but as a loving, and sometimes playful, human infant.

There are in France and in Spain examples in plenty of the *Sedes Sapientiae*. Reproductions of French ones may be seen in any well-illustrated book covering twelfth-century sculpture in France, and of Spanish ones in Gudiol's section on Romanesque 'Imaginería' in vol. vi of *Ars Hispaniae*.¹ Common enough in Spain, but seemingly rare in France (cf. p. 149 *infra*), where the transition from Romanesque to Gothic was considerably more rapid, are Madonna-images in which, as in our group, the fundamental iconographical features of the *Sedes Sapientiae*—the hieraticism and the complete frontality of both Virgin and Child—are modified virtually only through the shifting of the Child from His central situation on our Lady's lap to an asymmetric situation on her left knee. Common in Spain are, too, Madonnas in which the tendency towards hieraticism to become less marked begins to appear; our Lady remains completely frontal and with our Lord on her left knee, but He, instead of remaining frontal, turns in some degree—it may be His whole body, or only the part above the waist, or His head, or His legs—away from the frontal plane.

The second of the general classifications—a transitory status between the first and the third—is, as being characteristic of our group of wooden-cored Madonna-images, the only one of the three with which we need here concern ourselves. A rough allocation of its appearances in Spain may be made between those in which, as in our copper-sheathed Madonnas, the Child raises His right hand with two fingers extended in benediction while in His left He holds a book, and those in which He either employs His right hand in some way other than that particular form of benediction or/and holds some other object in His left. Unfortunately some of the wooden images are so damaged that we cannot be fully certain just what He is meant to be doing with the one or with the other of His hands.

Of examples of the first of these forms we have (besides the copper-sheathed one

¹ Cf. p. 117, n. 1 *supra*.

in the Convent of Santa Clara at Huesca; cf. pl. XLV) the closely similar Madonna-image of wood in the church at Fanlo (Gudiol, *Imaginería*, fig. 363; del Arco, *Cat. mon. España: Huesca*, fig. 686), to which Gudiol refers as 'seemingly from a local workshop', as well as a number of others of the 'Escuela de Huesca-Jaca' (Gudiol, pp. 340-3, with figs. 358-65). Further, there are the two wooden Madonnas which I have already mentioned (p. 128 *supra*)—one at Igriés (pl. L, *d*), in the Huesca district, the other (pl. L, *c*) formerly in the (since burnt) church at Berbegal, in the adjacent Barbastro district—which, although in them the Child is not frontal but turned slightly towards the centre with His legs turned even farther sideways, should be recalled because of their obvious affinity with the London Madonna and through it with the Santa Clara one) and as indications of how firmly established in the Huesca district was the type of which our copper-sheathed Madonnas are examples. The Igriés Madonna (pl. L, *d*) is, in our Lady's attitude and in the draping of her garments, very close to the London one; a notable feature of the resemblance is the odd fold, in the form of a flattened S between her feet, that we have remarked as present also in the Santa Clara Madonna (cf. p. 119 *supra*). The Berbegal Madonna (pl. L, *c*), 'Santa María la Blanca', which looks to be a fourteenth-century copy of the Igriés one, shows the Child with His legs somewhat lifted and turned well towards the centre and with a small globular object in His left hand; the odd fold between our Lady's feet, although in conformation degenerated, is still recognizable.¹

The province of Huesca contains, or has contained, a number of further wooden Madonna-images more or less closely paralleling Madonnas of our copper-sheathed group. Especially among these may be cited those at Liesa (del Arco, fig. 326), Sigena (Gudiol, fig. 369; del Arco, fig. 954), the Sanctuary of San Martín de la Val de Onsera (Gudiol, fig. 358; del Arco, fig. 370 and p. 183), Agüero (Gudiol, fig. 361; del Arco, fig. 765), and Riglos (Gudiol, fig. 365; del Arco, fig. 888). Differing but little in its iconography—the Child is not holding a book but is touching oddly, with the tips of the fingers of His right hand, a small globular object and is seated slightly higher than our Lady's left knee—and near enough to have inspired the Madonnas just cited, is the seemingly early wooden Madonna-image of the Sanctuary of Nuestra Señora de Salas, in a suburb of the town of Huesca, which has been presumed to have been carved about the end of the twelfth century and which long was famous for the miracles ascribed to it (cf. Gudiol, fig. 368; del Arco, fig. 156 and p. 139).

Images whose iconography parallels closely that of our copper-sheathed Madonnas would appear to be comparatively rare in Spain outside of the neighbourhood of the Province of Huesca. But I am far from dogmatic concerning that, for I have had available too little material which might properly serve as basis for an acceptable judgement. There may, however, be mentioned in this connexion a wooden Madonna-image, attributed to the twelfth century, in the church of San Miguel de Escalada.² There is an interesting parallel in Roussillon, now a part of France but—a circumstance relating its contemporary art to that of the area in which we are particularly

¹ Compare also the fine image, known as 'Nuestra Señora del Espino', at Burgo de Osma (*Mil joyas . . .*, pl. 319 and p. 200).

² Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Cat. mon. España: Prov. León*, pl. 44 and p. 114.

interested—during the period with which we are here concerned under Aragonese rule. It is a somewhat rude and clumsy, but very dignified, painted wooden Madonna-image in the remote village of Dorres: Virgin and Child are both fully frontal, her right arm outstretched from its elbow, with its hand, although now lacking index and thumb, seemingly as if grasping, His right hand raised in blessing and His left on a book.¹

Madonna-images of carved wood having both Virgin and Child fully frontal but asymmetrically placed with respect to each other, in Spain seemingly seldom found outside of the Province of Huesca and its more or less immediate vicinity, in France appear to be extremely rare—I recall only three which have records of associations with medieval France, the silver-cased one at Beaulieu (cf. p. 118 *supra*), the copper-cased one at Breuil-au-fâ (cf. pp. 121 f. *supra*), and an enigmatic silver-cased one, height 36 cm., at Conques.² Its half-tone reproduction suggests that the Conques image has been very considerably 'restored', wherefore I suspect that the figure of the Child may at some time have been moved from its primary situation, and that possibly it was, as in most other Madonna-images of its region and period, originally centrally placed.

In Auvergne, which comprised the Limousin region, there survive many wooden Madonna-images, some of them painted, some of them sheathed with metal, attributed to the twelfth century, in which our Lady and the Child, seated in His mother's lap, are fully frontal; generally He has his right hand raised in benediction, and often He has His hand on a book. These carvings have been based, whether immediately or at one or more removes, on one (no longer existing but known from a surviving drawing) made of wood sheathed with gold, given by the then Bishop of Clermont to his cathedral about the middle of the tenth century.³ Whereas the craftsmen of the Province of Huesca and of, broadly speaking, the neighbouring areas adopted, when the Byzantine type declined in popularity, an intermediate type in which the Child, while still remaining frontal, was moved from our Lady's lap to her left knee, those of Auvergne, when the Byzantine type (perhaps overlong retained) was outgrown, seem much more abruptly to have Gothicized the rigid hieraticism of their Madonna-images.

Although much of the Spanish twelfth- and thirteenth-century figure-sculpture in stone displays effects of French influences, the humble carvers of the Spanish wooden images (and presumably also the Spanish copper-workers) were for long little affected by those influences. As Gudiol, speaking (*Imagineria*, p. 340) of the very district—one comprising Huesca and Jaca—with which we are here mainly concerned, says:

The absence of relationship between the imagery of Huesca and the monumental decorative sculpture of the second half of the eleventh century and the early twelfth is but one more proof of the mutual independence between the groups of monumental stonecutters, who were not in the

¹ 'L'Art roman de Roussillon', in *Le Point*, nos. xxxiv, xxxv, March 1947, pp. 32 (with large reproduction), 33.

² A. Bouillet and L. Servièrès, *Sainte Foy, Vierge et Martyre*, Rodez, 1900, pp. 230 f.; *Bull. monumental*, 1901, in review of *Sainte Foy*.

³ Cf. 'Vierges romanes d'Auvergne' ('La Vierge d'Or de

Clermont et ses répliques', by É. Mâle; 'Vierges romanes d'Auvergne', by L. Bréhier; 'A propos de Vierges romanes', by Marcel Gromaire; List of situations of the images; 'Carte du Diocèse de Clermont avant 1317', in *Le Point*, no. xxv, June 1943. Illustrated by a large number of photographs by Dr. Cany.

least imbued with the native spirit, and the unpretending artisans locally established. The former were artists in transit, in any case aliens, moving whither patrons called for their services; the latter probably members of the community, with formulas which passed from fathers to sons, and for whom their polychromed [wooden] sculpture so followed the same designs from generation to generation that now we have difficulty in fixing a chronology covering them.

And, as he says further (*ibid.*, p. 344), the great French influence in Navarre began only in the fourteenth century.

In all five of the copper-sheathed Madonna-images of pls. XLIII–XLVII, in the 'Vierge de Moussac', in the two copper-sheathed ones of the type of the 'Virgen de la Vega' (pls. LIV, LV, LVII),¹ and in most of the coreless ones shown in our illustrations, our Lady either holds a short straight tube into which, obviously, something was to be inserted,² or her right hand is curved round as though grasping a rod or a stem of some kind. It is unfortunate that in no one of those images (with the exception, possibly, of the Basilewsky one [pl. LIII, a]) has anything survived within either tube or curving hand. Most naturally we should presume the absent object to have been a sceptre, as mark of her queenship; but not even in the simple wooden images, without metallic sheathing, of the iconographical type with which we are dealing, does she hold that emblem of majesty, although in some few of them she does indeed hold a small globular object of (at least originally) corresponding import. In some others, whose resemblance to the Madonna-images having the Child centrally placed suggest a rather earlier date, her right hand looks to be in a position for grasping, and on occasion holds a short stem. In most of the analogous Madonnas in which the Child no longer is strictly frontal, our Lady's right hand analogously is empty, although in some few she holds a sceptre, which in one case is of markedly floral design, and in another ends in what look to be lilies made of metal. I would suggest that sometimes living flowers might appropriately have been put in the Virgin's hand, to replace temporarily perhaps a sceptre or else a small globular object with a short stem.

From what I have said above, it would appear that carved Madonna-images of the type of the copper-sheathed one at Huesca and its two close parallels, the London Madonna and the Morgan one, had a robust iconographical background in Spain, principally in the province of Huesca and its neighbouring provinces. Our inquiries concerning France seem to have disclosed no corresponding background there for such images; wherefore I think we are entitled to believe that the wooden cores of those three Madonnas pretty certainly were carved in Spain, and that the wooden core of the Breuil-au-fâ Madonna (pl. XLVII, a), if perhaps not actually carved in Spain and exported to the Limousin region, must have been produced under very strong influences derived from Spain. Consonantly, the Musée de Cluny's Madonna-image from Moussac (pl. XLVII, b), which although coreless parallels closely, both in iconography and in dimensions, the Madonnas of the Huesca–London–Morgan group, presumably either was imported into the Limousin area or else strongly influenced by Spanish craftsmanship. It has been normal for advocates of the Limousin hypothesis

¹ Also in the silver-sheathed Madonna-image at Beaulieu (cf. p. 118 *supra*).

² I think that very rarely do the right hands of our

seated Madonna-images project far enough to prevent wax dropping on our Lady's knees were a votive taper placed in her hand.

to explain the diffusion in Spain of medieval enamels which they claimed to be of Limousin workmanship, by asserting that they had been imported from France. If there were indeed validity in such a claim, there would appear no obvious reason why analogous objects which had been made in Spain should not have travelled from Spain to France. Furthermore, of the coreless copper Madonna-images discussed above, three (pls. XLVII, XLIX, LI), which appear to be rather closely associable with the Huesca-London-Morgan type, have had unquestioned Spanish ownerships, and a fourth (pl. L, *b*) a history which perhaps intimates a connexion with Spain; but not one (except the aberrant 'Vierge de Moussac') which appears attachable to a French source.

The sheathing with copper of at least the Huesca, the London, and the Morgan Madonnas, as well presumably of most other metal-sheathed Madonna-images, reasonably certainly was executed in, or in the neighbourhood of, where they were carved; it would seem indeed unlikely that those three images, all narrowly of one type, would have been enriched in that particular manner except in or near the place(s) where they had been carved. And the same is true—although because of the French disinclination to look upon the enamelling as anything but 'Limousin', not quite so simple an inference—in the matter of the enamelled plaques encasing their thrones. The delicate engraving on areas of the sheathings of the London and Morgan Madonnas, and to a lesser extent on the sheathing of the one at Huesca, should suffice to vouch for the technical competence of the craftsmen associated with the sheathings of those images, and the enamel on the girdle of the Morgan Madonna for their ability to handle the vitreous fillings of copper *champlevé*. And there would seem to be no reason to think that the makers of the enamels were other than Spanish. As I shall have occasion below (pp. 154 f.) to recall, we have good reasons for believing that notably fine copper *champlevé* enamels were produced in Spain decades before the period during which we may presume our present group to have been made; and, furthermore, that certain analogous enamels still preserved in, or in the vicinity of, the Province of Huesca may well be attributable to Spanish craftsmen; and consequently that if outside craftsmen were indeed involved, they much more probably would have come from some other region of Spain than from the distant Limousin.

We appear, therefore, to have reasonably sound support for an attribution to Spain—and, more precisely, to the Province of Huesca or broadly somewhere in its vicinity—of at least three of our copper-sheathed Madonnas; and, further, that we have good grounds for a deduction that the enamels adorning the thrones of those Madonna-images were made locally, and more or less concomitantly with the carvings to which they are affixed. Their common feature—one characteristic of the particular type of *champlevé* enamels with which they are associable—is the portrayal both of persons and of large architectural features by flat metal surfaces, engraved with the subsidiary details, reserved in vitreous grounds which usually comprise scrolls, in reserve and sometimes accompanied by varicoloured fleurons or rosettes or both.

That same technique appears on the back of a *châsse*, in the Collegiate Church of San Isidoro at León, which for a number of reasons would seem almost unquestionably to be of Spanish make.¹ This *châsse*, which I take to be of a date distinctly

¹ *M.S.E.*, figs. 26 *a*, 26 *b*, and pp. 96 ff.

earlier than that of the enamels on the thrones of our Madonna-images, has on its front figures, in very low relief but having heads in high relief, in grounds sown with small multicoloured rosettes aligned horizontally and vertically. And on the front of a *châsse*¹ still at Silos, which seems clearly to be closely related to objects of what I have for convenience termed the 'Silos Group',² are figures in very low relief and with applied heads in high relief, reserved in grounds comprising scrolls to which are attached multicoloured fleurons analogous to those on the back of the Morgan Madonna's throne. Although the forms of the scrolls, the rosettes, and the fleurons on these two *châsses* are not precisely like the ones on our wooden-cored Madonnas, the enamels in which they appear as elements have so many technical parallels in the enamels of the throne-plaques of those images, that I perceive no need whatsoever to seek elsewhere than in Spain a technical background for the enamels of those plaques.

While I am inclined to think, in conformity with what seems to be a general opinion, that the enamels of the Madonna-images should be attributed to the second half of the thirteenth century, or perhaps—in view of the testimony of the Madonna at La Sauvetat (cf. p. 122 *supra*)—in some cases even to the early fourteenth, I am not altogether satisfied, despite the seeming coherence of the group and most of its coreless associates, that all of them should be assigned to a period quite so late. The formalized iconography of the wooden images to whose surfaces the enamelled plaques have been applied, although displaying obvious signs of softening under Gothic influences entering from a France where they had long been commonplace, still so clearly shows traces of its descent from the iconography of the twelfth-century *Sedes Sapientiae* (cf. p. 147 *supra*) that not infrequently such wooden images, and their applied enamels with them, have been ascribed to the first rather than the second half of the thirteenth century. And indeed it seems possible that some of the wooden cores may have been carved before 1250 and, because looked upon as possessing a special sanctity, have at some later time been cased in copper for their better preservation, just as others were cased in silver (cf. p. 118 *supra*). The leafy filigree round the base of the London Madonna-image (pls. XLIII, XLIV) is of a type usually dated in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and the applied filigree of our Lady's crown suggests a date before 1250 rather than after. It is unfortunate that we seem to have nothing to inform us when or how those pieces of filigree came to be affixed in their present places. Taken as a whole, the enamels of our Madonna-images suggest, I think, the degenerate products of an industry approaching over-commercialization.

I think that the circumstances suggest very strongly that the Madonna-image (pl. XLVII, *a*) at Breuil-au-fâ (Haute-Vienne), preserved in France but whose iconography parallels somewhat astonishingly closely that of the Madonna at Huesca, and pretty closely that of the London Madonna and the Morgan one,³ must have been produced at least under Spanish influence, and quite conceivably actually carved in Spain. As in technique it corresponds precisely, except for the eyes (which, however, are paralleled in some of the coreless Madonna-images), to the Huesca Madonna and

¹ *Ibid.*, figs. 24 *a*, 24 *b*, and pp. 96 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³ It parallels also, to a very considerable extent, that of a number of coreless Madonnas directly or indirectly associable with Spain.

the London and Morgan ones, I think that we may very reasonably presume its metallic sheathing and its enamels to have been also made in Spain.

Now, if the Breuil-au-fâ Madonna indeed was produced in Spain, or even under strong Spanish influences, and came to be preserved in a church at no great distance from Limoges itself, its situation there would seem to bear very suggestively on the history of copper champlevé enamelling in medieval France. It has hitherto commonly been assumed, largely because of the term '*œuvre de Limoges*' and the support lent that term by certain circumstances, that *any* copper champlevé enamel of what may, for convenience, be called a 'Limousin' type, if chancing to be situated in a church in the Limousin region *must* have been produced in that region and consequently could confidently be used as a criterion for other analogously enamelled objects existing outside that region. The Breuil-au-fâ Madonna, which normally would, according to such preconceptions, have been accepted unquestioned as of Limousin make and presumably adopted as a criterion for the origin of the Huesca-London-Morgan group (and, going a step farther, for that of the coreless copper Madonnas), appears, however, from its own intrinsic testimony and that of the Huesca Madonna, to be much more closely related to Spain than to France.

Yet such an occurrence would seem by no means unique. I have elsewhere pointed out¹ that a set of six champlevé enamel plaques from the Bardac Collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, presumably were Spanish rather than French. Later, Ross having shown² that about the middle of the nineteenth century those plaques were at Champagnat (Creuse), I recalled some of the various ways in which enamels produced in Spain could well have found Limousin homes during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³ From what little we know in this matter, it would seem unlikely (although by no means impossible) that the plaques in question reached the Limousin more recently than a comparatively few years after they were made, so that we may accept them as examples of medieval champlevé imported into the Limousin area. Again, the Châsse of St. Calmine, at Mozac, in Puy de Dôme, which embodies, as I have pointed out elsewhere,⁴ a number of features strongly suggesting that it, although made for a Limousin destination, was produced by a Spanish craftsman, appears to provide further testimony of medieval importations of the kind; or of, conceivably, the presence of migratory Spanish craftsmen who made things of the sort. Recognition of the probability—or, indeed, of even the possibility—that some of the 'Limousin' enamels in Limousin churches may have been made by Spanish craftsmen leads immediately to the corollary that there may well be pieces of copper champlevé in Spain or known to have been derived from there, whose similarities to pieces still, or recorded as formerly being, in some Limousin district have occasioned

¹ *M.S.E.*, pp. 57 f., with figs. 8 a-f, 89.

² M. C. Ross, 'An Enamelled Reliquary from Champagnat', in *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1939, pp. 470 ff.

³ 'Varieties of Circumstantial Evidence in the Study of Medieval Enamelling', in *Speculum*, xvii (1942), p. 395. A further matter which, doubtless, had very important effects, was a Papal Decree, amongst those sanctioned in 1215 by the Twelfth Grand Synod, obliging the abbot (or,

in houses where there was no abbot, the prior) of each house of a monastic order to report in person, triennially, to the head of his order (cf. C. J. von Hefele, *Concilien-geschichte*, 2nd edit., vol. v, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1886, pp. 885 f.). A wide dissemination of medieval champlevé enamels, and more especially of the ecclesiastical objects for which they so often served, must thus have been encouraged.

⁴ *M.S.E.*, pp. 115 f.

their attribution to 'Limoges', whereas they should more properly have been credited to Spain.

We really *know*—as distinct from conjectures and expressions of opinions—very little about the enamelling industry which, there seem good reasons for thinking, was carried on in the Limousin district in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We know that copper champlevé enamels were, from at least the very end of the twelfth century (but whether earlier, we do not know with certainty), called by one name or another implying that such enamels were made at Limoges; we have the splendid so-called 'Ciborium of Alpais',¹ on which is an inscription stating that it was made 'at Limoges' by 'G. Alpais' (whose surname somewhat disturbingly resembles the Arabic names Al-Fā'iz and Al-Faiz, and suggests the possibility of a Spanish Moslem origin or ancestry); and we have an enamelled copper cross² on which is a Latin inscription to the effect that 'Iohannis Garnerius of Limoges made me, O my brothers', usually presumed to be incomplete and in consequence incomprehensible—though it seems clear enough if we may suppose Garnier to have personified other crosses (for a number of its particular type still exist)³ as he personified this one. However, in neither of these cases can we be completely certain that the persons who are recorded as having 'made' the objects were enamellers; according to the practice of the time, 'made' might mean no more than that they ordered and/or paid for them. Beyond those scraps of information we have, I believe, nothing whatever to tell us definitely just what kind(s) of enamels were being made at Limoges in the thirteenth century; nothing but inferences derived from objects in, or known, or presumed to have come from the Limousin area.⁴

Probably the firmest of the buttresses for the claim that virtually all twelfth- and thirteenth-century copper champlevé enamels of the so-called 'Limousin' types were produced in the Limousin district, has been the common medieval nomenclature, in medieval times used even in parts of Spain itself, for enamels of their sort—a designation, '*œuvre de Limoges*' or some corresponding term,⁵ suggesting, in one way or another, that they were made at Limoges. How that nomenclature became, perhaps inordinately, generic, we do not know. It indeed may have been because in the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth enamels were manufactured in Limousin workshops in such great volume as repeatedly has been asserted; but it would also seem quite possible that Limoges, situated on a route favoured by merchants as well as by pilgrims and journeying members of religious orders, and itself producing wares of various kinds, became an entrepôt for commodities—both natural materials and man-made things—brought from places along, or even merely feeding into, the '*Camino francés*', and that copper champlevé enamels were among those commodities.⁶ As there is documentary evidence strongly suggesting that enamels of the sort (but for

¹ Attributed to the second third of the thirteenth century; cf. Gauthier, *op. cit.* (1950), p. 151.

² C. de Linas, 'Les Crucifix champlevés polychromes en plate peinture', in *Revue de l'Art chrétien*, iii (1885); Rupin, *op. cit.*, fig. 175 and pp. 108 f.

³ Cf. de Linas, *op. cit.*; Rupin, *op. cit.*, figs. 335, 336, 337, 331.

⁴ Concerning these matters, in greater detail, see *M.S.E.*, chap. II, 'Incertitudes of the Limousin Hypothesis'.

⁵ For a number of such terms cf. Rupin, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 f.

⁶ For some comparable instances cf. *M.S.E.*, p. 14.

which there seems at that time to have been no Spanish name) were being produced in Spain at the first quarter of the twelfth century,¹ and as there exist a number of such enamels which seem certainly to have been made during the course of that century,² while there is much circumstantial evidence indicating that copper champlevé enamels were being made, in not inconsiderable quantities, in Spain of the thirteenth century, it would indeed appear conceivable that so many were made in the Peninsula with a view to their transmission to Limoges and sale at that great trading centre, that some term embodying the name of Limoges came to be attached to them—a term which underwent, as such terms often did, alterations suggesting that the enamels in question actually were a product of Limoges.³ But how little nomenclature may have to do with a place where a commodity is in fact made is appropriately illustrated in the case of the type of contemporary motor-car which derives its name from the Limousin. If Limoges was indeed an entrepôt for enamels of the kind, their abundance in the churches of Haute-Vienne, Creuse, and Corrèze could be accounted for almost as reasonably by supposing them to have been imported in quantity as by presuming them to have been produced at Limoges.

It has been shown above (pp. 147 f.) that, so far as the iconography of their wooden cores is concerned, while our Huesca-London-Morgan group of Madonna-images had a firm background in Spain, seemingly it lacked any corresponding background in France. At this juncture we need not occupy ourselves with the question whether the enamels on the thrones of those images—and consequently the enamels of the various collateral copper-sheathed or coreless Madonna-images—might conceivably have had a French background; all that for the moment need engage our attention is the question whether those enamels could have had a Spanish background independent of one Limousin. To that question the answer seems abundantly clear, and given by both documentary testimony and material evidence which I have summarized in my *Medieval Spanish Enamels*, chaps. III ('Medieval Spanish Enamels on Gold'), V ('The Twelfth-century Copper Champlevé Enamels of Spain'), and VI ('The Later Copper Champlevé Enamels of Spain').

Marquet de Vasselot has tried to justify the French contention that copper champlevé enamelling of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries originated and developed at Limoges, by reasserting that 'au XII^e et au XIII^e siècle le rayonnement artistique, entre la France et l'Espagne, avait sa source au nord des Pyrénées; de nombreux travaux l'ont déjà démontré pour l'architecture et la sculpture'.⁴ It is today by no means so commonly assumed, as it was in the nineteenth century, that even in sculpture and in architecture the current of influence flowed along the pilgrimage roads virtually exclusively *towards* Spain. And as for the contemporary minor arts, the Spanish Moslems and Mozarabs notably were skilled in a number of those arts.

By the end of the eleventh century there were well developed, in the northern kingdoms of Spain, through which passed the roads to Santiago de Compostela, all the technical processes requisite for the production of champlevé enamels on copper.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 73 ff.

² *Id.*, chap. V, 'The Twelfth-century Copper Champlevé Enamels of Spain', *passim*.

³ For some instances, cf. Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places*, 2nd edit., 1865, pp. 291, 297; *M.S.E.*, p. 14.

⁴ *Les Croises limousines*, p. 174.

Encouragement for such production could have followed as a result of the more settled conditions succeeding the Reconquest, from the needs of religious institutions whose means were limited—and especially from those in the regions newly restored to Christian hands—for ritual furniture.¹ Support for such encouragement could have come from copper readily available in minable deposits in a number of districts of northern Spain, including those of Aragon and of Navarre—Provinces of especial interest to us in connexion with the Madonna-images of the Huesca-London-Morgan type—where mines are (or until recently were) being worked;² and the present situations of some of the principal surviving monuments of medieval champlevé suggest that copper from those deposits was so used.³ It has been, by some scholars, presumed that Limoges, which, so far as we know, had no such resources at her doors, obtained from Spain the copper for her medieval enamelling industry.⁴

In the light of the various matters above discussed, I am very much inclined to think that, of the enamels long commonly credited to medieval Limoges, a goodly number were produced in towns along or in immediate touch with the '*Camino francés*', where they could have found ready sale among the thousands of pilgrims who yearly thronged that route, and where the requisite metal presumably was either at hand or readily procurable.

As I have pointed out above (pp. 138, 140), the enamels preserved at Orense appear to be closely related to some of those on the throne of the '*Virgen de la Vega*'. They survive from a group, comprising also a number of other pieces, made to decorate something—presumably a reliquary-chest or an altar-piece—of considerable size. In *Medieval Spanish Enamels* I have given (pp. 114 ff.) my reasons for thinking that that object certainly was made especially for Orense Cathedral, and I have pointed to a number of its features—technical or iconographical—which both suggest for the group a Spanish origin and seemingly associate it with the so-called '*frontal*' in the Burgos Museum.⁵ Kinship of some sort between the Orense pieces and some fine enamelled plaques, commonly associated with a great altar formerly existing at Grandmont, has long been recognized.⁶ A presumption, often expressed, to the effect that the latter were made in an atelier at Grandmont itself, has recently been shown by Marquet de Vasselot to be unsupported by evidence.⁷ Discussing the relations seemingly existing between the '*Grandmont*' plaques and the Orense fragments, he decided (*loc. cit.*, p. 156) that the two groups were produced in different ateliers, of which the one associated with the Orense pieces displayed tendencies rather in advance of those of the other.

Evidence in this matter—one important in the history of copper champlevé enamelling in France—is perhaps deducible from a collation of the '*Grandmont*' St. Martial⁸

¹ Cf. *M.S.E.*, pp. 40 f.

² Cf. *XVI International Geographical Congress: Copper Resources of the World*, Washington, 1935, section on Spain.

³ Cf. *M.S.E.*, p. 41.

⁴ The rich deposits of Andalusia, actively exploited in Roman times, appear to have been comparatively little worked by the Moslems. It is tempting to conjecture that the great expansion of the copper enamelling industry which seems to have occurred in the second half of the thirteenth century might perhaps have received its impetus

from the conquest of Andalusia, in 1233, by Ferdinand III of Castile and León, through encouragement of the mining of Andalusian copper and its exportation in quantity to Limoges, situated on one of the principal trade-routes to the north.

⁵ Cf. p. 140, n. 5.

⁶ Cf. Bertaux, *Exposición Retrospectiva* . . . , p. 330. Cf. also p. 141 *supra*.

⁷ *Les Croisettes limousines*, section on '*Les Apôtres présumés de Grandmont*', pp. 149–58.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv.

with the Orense one (pl. LV, *b*). The portraying of the 'Grandmont' St. Martial as barefooted, adduced by Marquet de Vasselot in favour of a Limousin source for the 'Grandmont' plaques, is duplicated in the corresponding Orense St. Martial—several of whose companion plaques represent, similarly iconographically in error, other Saints with feet bare. And, even more striking, the small shapeless lump—which Marquet de Vasselot hesitatingly suggested might perhaps represent a loaf of bread, in allusion to St. Martial's presence, according to a legend, at the miracle of the multiplication of loaves—in the 'Grandmont' St. Martial's hand, is closely paralleled by a small correspondingly shapeless lump above the Orense St. Martial's right hand; a lump obviously part of the stole which he grasps and which hangs from his shoulder somewhat inconspicuously against his body. It would thus seem quite possible that the craftsman who made the 'Grandmont' St. Martial was inspired, more or less directly, by the Orense one, but mistook (perhaps because he worked from a sketch) the bunched part of the stole for an emblem.

Further connexion between the 'Grandmont' St. Martial and an enamelled object which I take to be a product of Spain would seem discernible in the diapered fabric of his inner garment, below his waist, which in design parallels precisely our Lady's garment in the Madonna-image at Artajona (pl. XLVIII, *supra*), presumably for centuries preserved in Spain; and in addition, in the way in which the cabochons used as embellishments are set, identical in the two objects. Again, our evidence pointing to some sort of relationship between the 'Grandmont' plaques and the Orense ones is supplemented by a band of pseudo-Cufic characters across the top of the front of the bench on which sits the 'Grandmont' St. James,¹ corresponding to the bands of pseudo-Cufic characters across the backgrounds of the Orense Saints.

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¹ Rupin, *op. cit.*, fig. 478; Metropolitan Museum of Art's photograph of Ac. no. 17.190.123

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a. Front



b. Back

London: Victoria and Albert Museum (loan)



a. Detail of head, with filigree crown



b. Side



c. Side



d. Base, showing leafy filigree

London: Victoria and Albert Museum (loan)



a. Front



b. Side

Huesca: Convent of Santa Clara



a. Front



b. Back

New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art



a. Breuil-au-Fâ: church



b. 'La Vierge de Moussac': Musée de Cluny



c. La Sauvetat: back of Throne



d. La Sauvetat: church



a. Front



b. Side

'Nuestra Señora de Jerusalén': Artajona



a. Back



b. Front

Palencia (from Hucillos); Episcopal Palace

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955



c. Side



a. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art



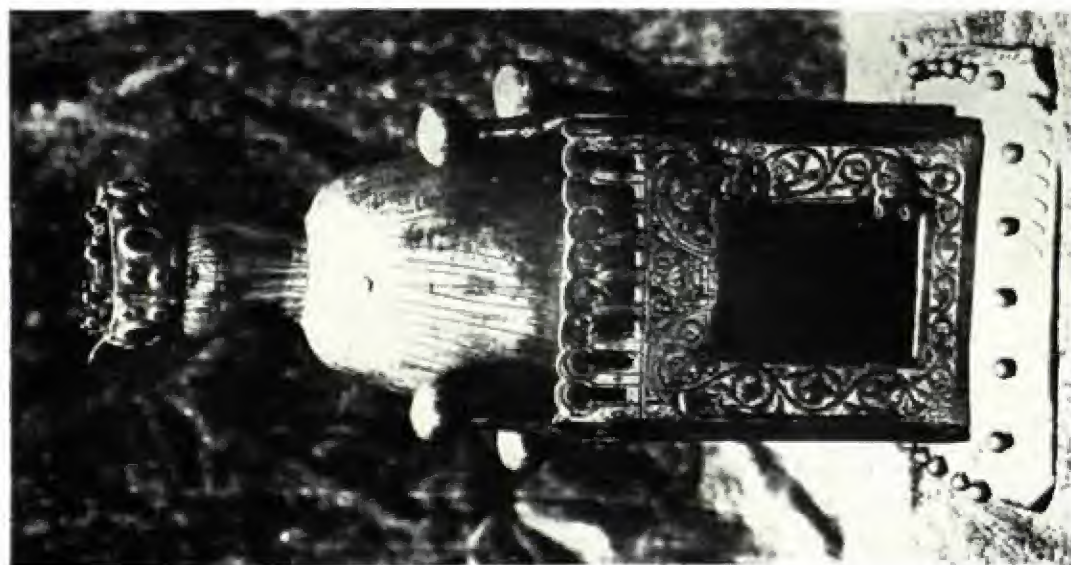
b. Formerly Rüttschi Collection



c. Formerly at Berbegal (of wood)



d. Igriés (of wood)



a. Back



b. Front

Formerly at Arlatza



c. Side

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955



a. Front



b. Back



c. Side

London: Victoria and Albert Museum (formerly Zouche Collection)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955



a. Hermitage Museum (formerly
Basilewsky Collection)



b. London: Wallace Collection



c. Front



d. Back

New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art (formerly Yanville Collection)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955



a. Front



b. Side

Salamanca: 'La Virgen de la Vega'



a. 'La Virgen de la Vega': detail



b. Orense: enamelled plaque
(St. Martial)



c. 'La Virgen de la Vega':
detail



d. Orense: enamelled plaque



a. Stockholm: cross from Nafelsjö



b. Stockholm: cross from Ukna



c. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum (formerly Mannheimer Collection)



a. Side



b. Front



c. Back

New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art



a.

London: Victoria and Albert Museum (loan)



b. (Top View)

Barcelona: Municipal Museum of Art



c. (Side view)

Barcelona: Municipal Museum of Art

Anglo-Saxon Finds near Rainham, Essex, with a Study of Glass Drinking-horns

By VERA I. EVISON, F.S.A.

THE various objects listed below were found in the course of commercial digging for sand and gravel in the large pit about half-way between Rainham and Upminster in Essex¹ (see figs. 1 and 2), on the opposite side of the road to Gerpins Farm. In 1937 Mr. George Carter, a local Public Health official, heard that archaeological finds were being made, and purchased a number of objects from the workmen. He brought these to the attention of Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Kendrick at the British Museum, who identified the objects and arranged for an exhibition of the collection at the Museum.² At this time, too, Sir Thomas took photographs, some of which are published here. It is solely to this prompt and accurate recording that we owe our knowledge of the Bronze Age beaker and the gold coin pendant, for these are now missing.³ Mr. Carter presented the collection to the Borough of Dagenham, to be kept in the museum of local history being assembled at Valence House. There is no record of the gold pendant ever being housed there, however, and the present Librarian, Mr. J. O'Leary, has no knowledge of it. The Bronze Age beaker was stolen. The collection is otherwise intact, with the exception of a certain amount of deterioration in the condition of some of the iron objects.

The almost complete glass drinking-horn appeared in the exhibition 'The Story of Man' in the Festival of Britain Exhibition, and in view of its importance as a rare type of Anglo-Saxon glass it was placed on permanent deposit at the British Museum by the Dagenham Borough Council. The horn which forms a pair with this was acquired on the site in 1937 by Mr. C. J. Herington, who has recently very kindly presented it to the British Museum.

It is very pleasant to record my grateful thanks to a number of people who have given various kinds of help towards this article: Mr. J. W. Brailsford, British and Medieval Department, British Museum, for his comments from photographs on the Bronze Age beaker and Roman flagons; Mr. S. E. Rigold, Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments, for his report on the coin in the pendant; to members of the British Museum Research Laboratory for spectrographic and chemical tests on glass; to Dr. L. Mullins of Messrs. Kodak Ltd. for X-ray photographs of the swords; to Sir Thomas Kendrick for permission to publish his photographs (pls. LX, *a*, *b*, *c* and LXII); to the Trustees of the British Museum for pls. LX, *d* and LXIII; and to the Dagenham Borough Council and Mr. J. O'Leary for granting me every facility. I am indebted to colleagues in foreign museums for allowing me to examine glass horns, and to Mr. G. C. Dunning for drawings of the horns (fig. 8). A grant from the London University

¹ O.S. 1/25000, National Grid Sheet 51/58, 554840.

² Report in *The Times*, 24th May 1937.

³ Plaster casts were made of both sides of the pendant, and these are kept in the Coins and Medals Department of

the British Museum.

Replicas of two of the pots, the spindle-whorls, the square-headed brooch, and coin pendant were made in 1937, and are housed in Southend Museum.

Central Research Fund enabled me to see many of the German glasses as well as those in Copenhagen and Stockholm. To Birkbeck College I am particularly grateful for help in many ways.

THE SITE

Near the location of the finds a stream flows southwestwards to meet the Ingrebourne river, and this continues southwards past Rainham, on through the marshes, and joins the Thames at a point about three miles from Gerpins Farm.

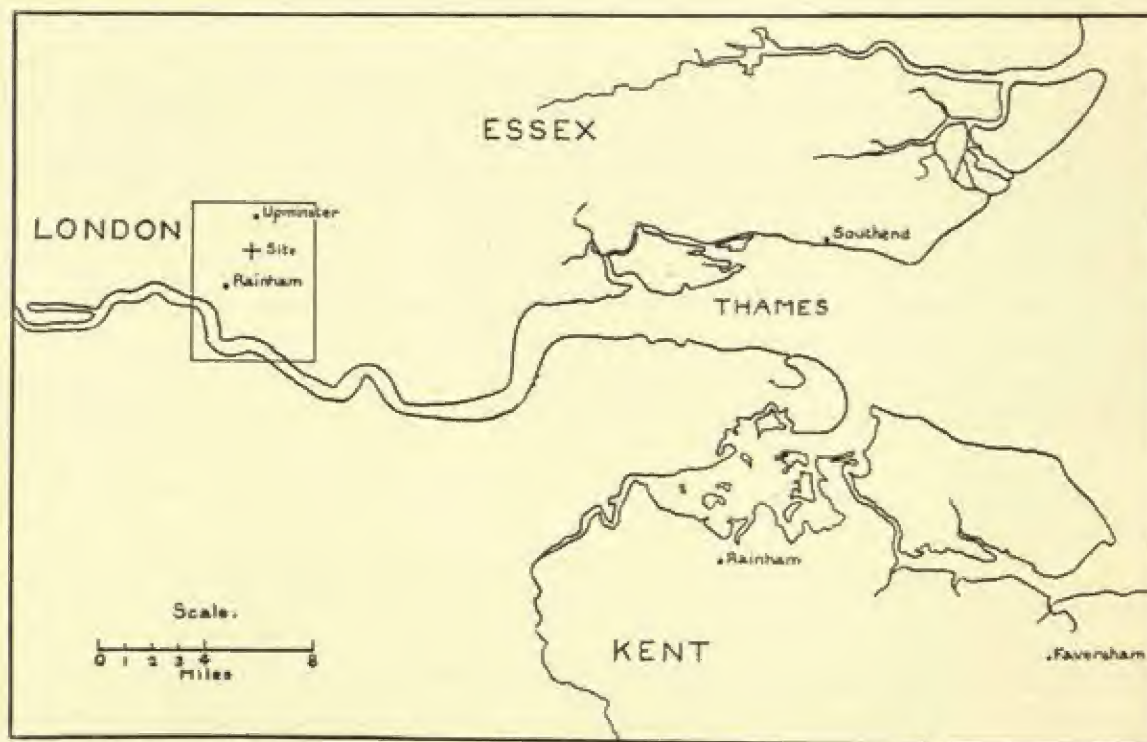


FIG. 1. The Thames Estuary

The landscape in this area is extremely flat but the finds were apparently made on a slight, flattened mound.¹ The topsoil was two to three feet deep with sand or gravel below. The glass horns and some other objects are said to have been found in 'pockets', which may have been graves, but it is not possible to tell at this date. According to *The Times* report of 24th May 1937, in addition to the Saxon objects 'the finds include Palaeolithic hand-axes, polished Neolithic axes of a type common in the Thames area, dating from about 2500 B.C.; pottery of the Early Bronze Age, including a small reddish beaker with banded decoration of lines and dots; and other pottery of the Late Bronze Age, the Early Iron Age, and the Roman Period'. Some of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic axes are still in Valence House, the reddish beaker is obviously the one which was stolen, and two Roman flagons remain, but the whereabouts of the 'other pottery of the Late Bronze Age' and the 'Early Iron Age' is not known. It is recorded that the position of the horns was about 100 yards east of Gerpins Farm. The pit has since

¹ Letter from Mr. Carter to Sir Thomas Kendrick, 14th Jan. 1937.

been widened to such an extent that it must have travelled far beyond the boundaries of the Saxon finds.



FIG. 2. Position of the gravel pit near Rainham

LIST OF FINDS

BRONZE AGE

1 Beaker

ROMANO-BRITISH

2 Flagons

ANGLO-SAXON

Gold

1 coin pendant

Bronze

1 square-headed brooch

2 small-long brooches

1 girdle-hanger

1 finger ring

1 coin

1 seal-box lid

4 rings

3 bronze-bound wooden vessels

Iron

(?) 2 swords

1 seax (?)

7 spearheads

6 shield bosses

1 small spike

Pottery

3 hand-made pots

1 wheel-turned pot

Glass

2 large beads

2 drinking-horns

Beaker (pl. LXII, *a*). Ht. *c.* 4.25 in. Early Bronze Age, or (on Prof. Piggott's revised classification) later Neolithic, 1800–1500 B.C. It is an example of Abercromby's type 'A', with tall straight-sided neck widening towards the top, rounded and slightly pear-shaped body, and flat base. The ornament is executed in the 'comb' technique characteristic of these pots. On the neck, from top to bottom, it consists of three horizontal lines, a row of triangles, the pendant ones filled with horizontal lines, and a band with diagonal hatching; there is a single horizontal line under the two last features. On the body, in the same sequence, is a row of triangles, as above, between two bands with diagonal hatching, then, after a space, two horizontal lines above a row of triangles similar to the preceding.

Flagons (pl. LIX). 'Screw-neck' type, Romano-British, first and second centuries; that with heavy top ring relatively late (probably second century), the other a relatively early type (probably first century).

ANGLO-SAXON OBJECTS

Gold

Coin pendant. Diam. 2.3 cm. (pl. LX, *a*, *b* and *c*). Although now missing, this pendant is well recorded, for it was photographed by Sir Thomas Kendrick at the British Museum in 1937, and a cast was made which is kept in the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum. It consists of a gold coin of Mauritius Tiberius (582–602), set in a double row of coarsely beaded gold wire. The loop and frame were obviously becoming unsoldered. The suspension loop is apparently composed of five rows of braided wires, or an imitation of such filigree work. This is a decoration commonly used on English seventh-century jewellery, and occurring, for instance, on the small garnet-set pyramid found in the Broomfield grave. Its use on the loop of coin pendants is less usual, for these generally consist of gold bands, either fluted or decorated with filigree annulets.¹

The only possible late sixth-century example of plait filigree occurs as one row on the fluted loop of a gold coin pendant in the hoard at St. Martin's, Canterbury.² This simple version appears to be one of the earliest attempts by an Anglo-Saxon to add interest to a pendant loop. Later on, the filigree spreads all over the loop so that it no longer needs to be fluted, as, for instance, the bi-conical loop of the Wilton cross (which, by virtue of the similarity of its cloisonné work to that of some of the Sutton Hoo jewels, may be considered as East Anglian work of the second quarter of the seventh century).³ It is now evident that the gold solidus of Heraclius I (610–40) in this cross is the original coin for which the setting was made. The braid is also found, but in a more complicated form, on the Bacton (Norfolk) pendant loop,⁴ where the central plait on each side is composed of strands of three or more wires. The coin in

¹ Braids form part of the decoration on some bracteate loops.

² P. Grierson, 'The Canterbury (St. Martin's) Hoard of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon coin ornaments', *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xxvii, 3rd series, vol. vii, pt. i (1952), pl. vi, 5. (The loop is not visible in this photograph.) Dr.

Grierson considers the date of deposition of the grave to be between A.D. 570 and 590, most likely about 580.

³ R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch.* xxv, pt. i (1949), p. 37, and pl. III *c*.

⁴ British Museum *Anglo-Saxon Guide*, pl. IV, 1.

this pendant is also an issue of Mauricius Tiberius, but of a later type than the Rainham coin. One of the thirty-five gold pendants in the find at Wieuwerd, Holland,¹ has braided wire (alternating with straight wire) both as a loop and a frame surrounding a coin of Chlotar II (613–29). In the Rolfe-Mayer collection of the City of Liverpool Public Museums there is a gold coin pendant of unknown provenance (No. 7384). The loop of this bears three single rows of plaits, each bordered by two rows of beaded wire. Dr. Grierson informs me that the king represented on this coin is probably also Chlotar II, and suggests that a date between 620 and 630 A.D. is most likely for its issue. Yet another gold pendant has a plaited loop, nearer in shape to the Rainham loop; this comes from Womersley, Yorkshire,² and although it contains no coin convenient for dating it may be regarded as seventh-century work because of its cruciform pattern with central cabochon and restricted use of cloisons in a filigree field.

The Wilton and Bacton pendants, then, are of East Anglian origin, the Womersley pendant comes from Yorkshire, and it is not unlikely that the Wieuwerd necklace was imported from England. It might not be unreasonable, therefore, to regard the plaited wire loop common to these and the Rainham pendant as a characteristic of one jewellery-making centre, most likely in East Anglia. The date of most of the other pendants seems to be well on into the seventh century, which suggests that the Mauricius Tiberius coin may have been thirty years old, or more, before it was given its present setting.

The coin is a light-weight gold solidus 2.3 cm. in diameter in the name of Mauricius Tiberius (Emperor, 582–602), belonging to a class issued in several cities of South Gaul approximately between 575 and 615 and often, but erroneously, regarded as imitations of Eastern Imperial issues.³ They are, in fact, of a quite distinct design, recalling, in some features, much earlier coins and, to begin with, anyway, issued under some official authority with control over three or four mints. The weight (about 3.86 gr. to the solidus) is consistently seven-eighths of that of the normal solidus and tremissis, and the coins generally, as in this case, bear the figures 'xxi' (*siliquae*) on the solidus, 'vii' on the tremissis. The mints (originally four, later five) are indicated by abbreviated names. The mint of Marseille (MAS, MA: or MA) to which the Rainham coin belongs is by far the commonest, and, also, the coins of Mauricius far outnumber those of his two predecessors and successors. Nearly half the surviving solidi (some dozen or more) owe their preservation to being made into pendants by the Northern peoples.

The general type changed towards the end of Mauricius' reign (about 596). The Rainham coin shows the earlier type, of which three distinct groups or phases can be distinguished at the mint of Marseille; this coin belongs to the second group, characterized by small dies and a fork-footed cross and reading 'MA:' (the first solidus has a cross patée, broad dies, and 'MAS'; the third 'MA' and a cross barred at the foot only). Other known solidi are in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Ashmolean Museum (looped)—(Group I); the British Museum (Group II); and the former

¹ P. C. J. A. Boeles, *Friesland tot de elfde eeuw* (1951), pl. xxx d.
pl. xli, 6.

² E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*,

³ S. E. Rigold, 'An Imperial coinage in Southern Gaul in the 6th and 7th centuries?', *Num. Chron.* 6th ser. xiv.

collection Lagoy (Group III). The coin from Hon, Norway, is probably Group I. The late type is represented on the Sarre necklace and elsewhere. Suggested dates are: Group I—*c.* 583–9; Group II—*c.* 590–4; Group III—*c.* 595; later type, *c.* 596–602, with posthumous coins still later. The Rainham coin, an earlyish Group II, would be *c.* 590 or soon after. It seems to have been worn and bent a little before mounting.

The obverse is inspired by Byzantine solidi of the late fifth and early sixth centuries. The reverse is quite original. The inscription reads:

obv. D(ominus) N(oster) MAVRIC(ius) TIB(erius) P(er)P(etuus) AVG(ustus)

rev. VICTORIA AVGGV (Augustorum) MA: (Massilia) XXI (Siliquae) IONDE (for CONOB, a now conventionalized formula, originally CON(stantinopolis) OB(ryzacum)).

Bronze

Gilt square-headed brooch (pl. LX, *d* centre and fig. 3). Length 3.5 in. The zoomorphic border of the head, although similar in a general way to those of many square-headed

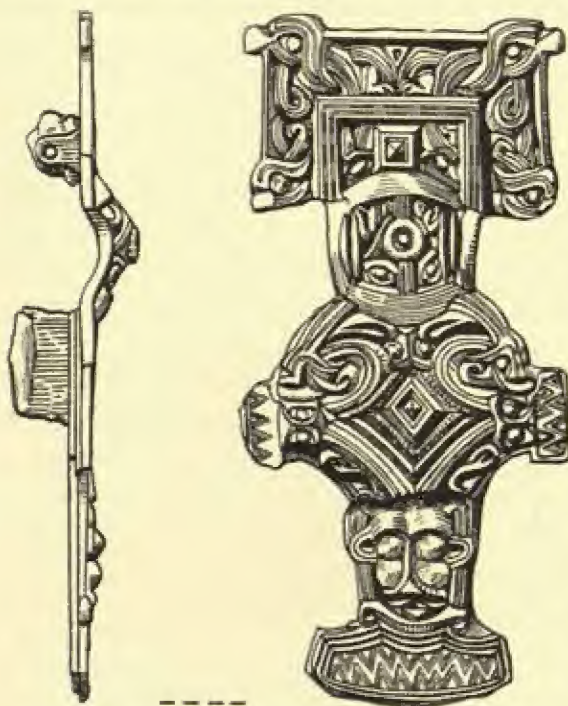


FIG. 3. Gilt bronze square-headed brooch (1)

brooches, does not fall in with any particular one of the schemes listed by Leeds:¹ there are a pair of animals back to back along the top, and a pair descending at the sides, the heads occupying the four corners and projecting slightly. At first sight, the top animals look as though they were intended to be humans, for the leg has a knee-bend, but as the foot ends in two claws they must be animal limbs facing the wrong way.² A pair of smaller, more schematic, descending animals occupy the central field on each side of a small square. The bow is convex, with a descending animal in each panel, and a circle-and-dot centre stud. The foot is undivided, with lozenge-shapes in the centre, downward-biting animal heads above (of which only one has an eye), a small mask at each side terminal, one immediately below the bow and a large and unusually realistic one, complete with ears, at the foot.

The damaged ends of each side arm and the foot are wide and flat, and decorated by a repeating punch of two V's, one inside the other.

The foot is broken in two places, and mended (in recent times) by means of a metal plate fixed to the back. These breaks obscure some of the details, e.g. at the sides of

¹ E. T. Leeds, *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-headed Brooches*, p. 91.

² Human legs do occur in both English and Scandi-

navian zoomorphic designs, see W. Holmqvist, 'Dryckeshornen från Söderby-Karl', *Fornvännen*, h. 1–2 (1951), p. 57, n. 37.

the foot, just below the side terminals, where there appear to be a pair of descending animals.

This brooch was not included by Leeds in his *Corpus*, but evidently belongs to his group A. 3, which he dated to the early half of the sixth century. A number of this group come from the Cambridge area, and all of them show strong signs of influence from the Kentish square-headed brooches.

Square-headed small-long brooch (pl. LX, left and fig. 4, 1). 2.5 in. long; the sides of the head curve inwards and narrow towards the bow; traces of three parallel scored lines outline the head. Immediately below the bow are triangular lappets merging into a circular shape and triangular finial; two lines are scored across the end of the foot. There is a mended break between the lappets and the circular shape.

Of the types of small-long brooches illustrated by Leeds¹ this appears to be most similar to fig. 25 *a*, *d*, and *e* from Bifrons, Kent, and Croydon, Surrey, described as 'Brooches with triangular foot, and two pairs of lappets below the bow'.

Square-headed small-long brooch (pl. LX, right and fig. 4, 2). 2.2 in. long; lozenge-shaped foot; double line scored as border to head, and circle-and-dot motif at each corner and centre. Similar circles are irregularly spaced on the foot, on which horizontally scored lines may be seen about half-way down, and also towards the terminal. Traces of tinning on the surface.

This is evidently a cheap imitation of the gilded and garnet-set type of brooch popular in Kent in the first half of the sixth century.

Girdle-hanger (fig. 4, 3). 5.2 in. long; the main shaft ends in a broken suspension ring and a horse's head similar to those on cruciform brooch terminals. The shape of the nostrils is not clear, but the eyes are prominent knobs, and below these are four scored transverse lines. The shaft is slightly hollowed behind the horse's head, but the rest of the hanger consists of a T-shaped flat band of bronze, the ends of which continue upwards parallel to the shaft and end in birds' heads with curling beaks. Circular impressions are irregularly stamped along the edges of the shaft and arms. Very similar girdle-hangers appear at Little Wilbraham,² and at Sleaford, Lincs., Graves Nos. 151 and 158; the latter also contained, amongst other objects, a cruciform brooch with half-round knobs, lappets, and semicircular terminal, which type Åberg³ dates to the second half of the sixth century.

Finger ring (fig. 4, 4). The hoop is a flat band widening towards a circular, hollowed bezel, now broken, and *c.* 3 mm. deep.

Coin (fig. 4, 5). Perforated for suspension; very worn.

Disc (fig. 4, 6). 0.8 in. diam., with a hole in the centre surrounded by a slightly raised rib; a second circular rib between this and the outside edge. At one point the edge projects slightly and is folded over to the back. At the opposite edge on the back is a tiny square projection. It seems likely that these are remains of a hinge and catch, and that this is the lid of a Roman seal-box.⁴

¹ E. T. Leeds, 'The Distribution of the Angles and Saxons archaeologically considered', *Archaeologia*, xci.

² C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, pl. XXXIII, 5.

³ N. Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England*, p. 42.

⁴ *London in Roman Times*, London Museum catalogue, p. 108 and fig. 33; *A Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain*, British Museum, p. 95, figs. 117 and 118.

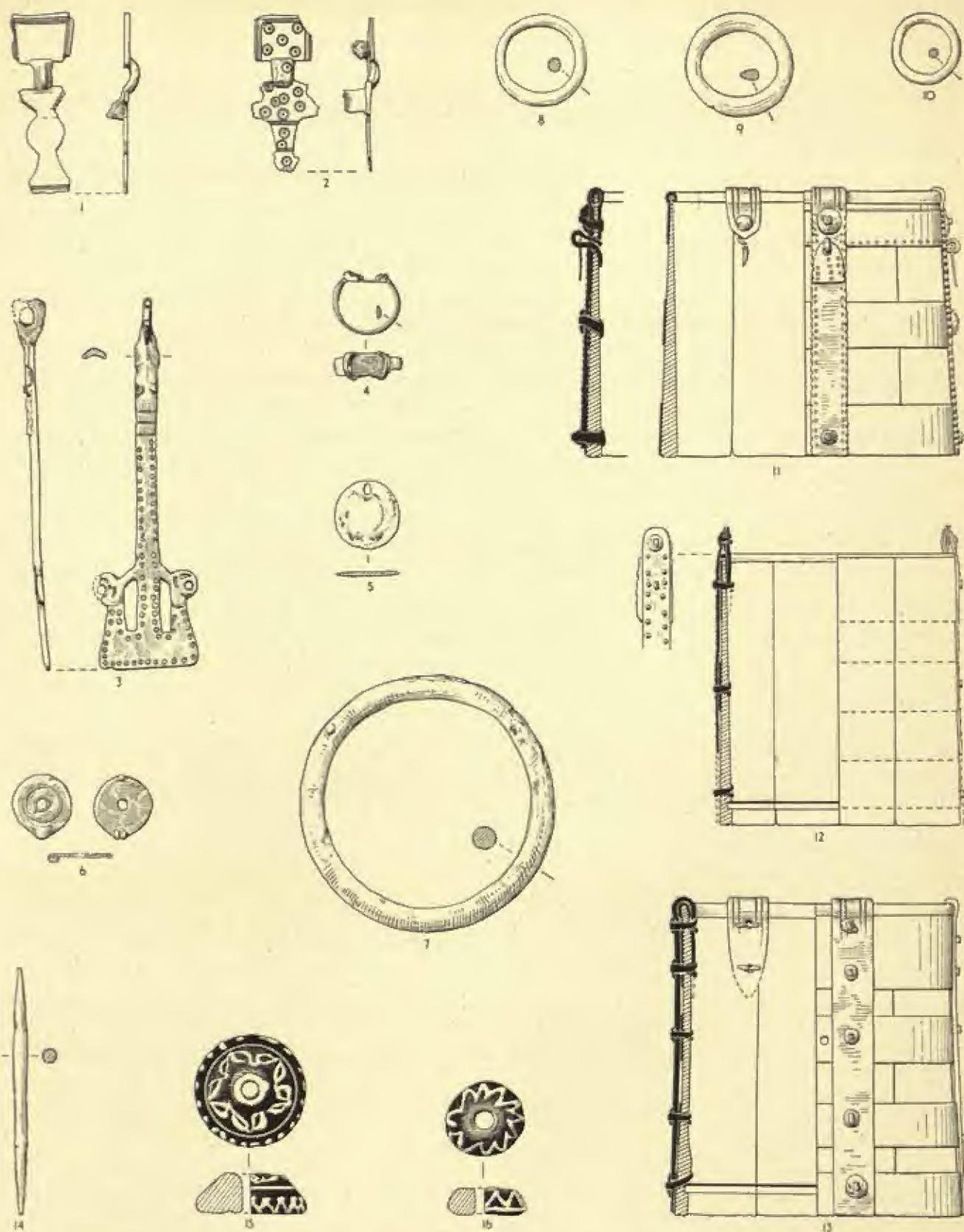


FIG. 4. 1 and 2, square-headed small-long brooches; 3, girdle-hanger; 4, bronze finger-ring; 5, perforated coin; 6, seal-box lid; 7-10, bronze rings; 11-13, bronze-bound wooden vessels; 14, iron spike; 15, 16, glass beads. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

Ring (Fig. 4, 7). 3.6 in. diam.; round in section, possibly an arm ring.

Ring (Fig. 4, 8). 1.3 in. diam.; roughly round in section, but worn thin in places.

Ring (Fig. 4, 9). 1.5 in. diam.; flatter than above; irregularly worn.

Ring (Fig. 4, 10). 1 in. diam.; round in section.

Bronze-bound wooden vessel (pl. LXII, *b* and fig. 4, 11). 3.7 in. high; vertical pieces of wood held together by three horizontal bronze hoops, each 0.7 in. wide, at top, bottom, and centre, the lower edge of the top band decorated by a row of impressed dots. Three vertical bands, slightly thicker, with toothed edges and border of punched dots, are pierced by a rivet with a circular washer at the three points where they cross the hoops, and are folded over the top of the vessel to be fastened inside by the top rivet. These vertical bands were no doubt originally equidistant from each other. There is no trace of a handle, and the vessel was a cup rather than a small bucket.

The wood, 2 in. wide at the base, narrows to a sharp edge at the top, and a narrow bronze rim ran over the top hoop but underneath the vertical bands. At one point a short bronze band is riveted over the edge, probably as a mend to this tubular rim. Just below the top rivet each vertical band is pierced by a bronze staple, from the loop of which swings a bronze spangle decorated with punched dots. (A similar spangle formed part of a necklace in Grave 1, Holywell Row.)¹

Bronze-bound wooden vessel (restored) (fig. 4, 12). Similar to above, 3.8 in. high. None of the hoops have survived, but marks of them are preserved on the wood, the one 0.3 in. from the base was 0.65 in. wide, the centre one 0.7 in. wide, and the top 0.9 in. wide. The two vertical bands are 0.4 in. wide, thin, and lightly fastened to the wood by looped staples; one finishes with a rounded end 0.4 in. above the rim of the wood; a short bronze band inside is riveted to it, and sandwiched in between them the remains of another bronze band, no doubt the end of a handle. This must have been opposite the other band to form the handle of this small bucket. Inside, and 0.3 in. from the bottom, is a groove in the wood to receive the base.

Bronze-bound wooden vessel (restored) (fig. 4, 13). Similar to above, about 4.4 in. high; traces of four bronze hoops, the widest, 1.2 in. wide, being at the top. Four vertical bands, two of which still lap over the top, are fastened with four or five looped staples. No trace of a handle; traces of a tubular rim.

Iron

Swords. The photograph (pl. LIX), taken in 1937, shows one sword in its complete state. A number of fragments only now exist; they are in two widths, about 0.2 in. and 1.7 in., totalling about 73 in. in length, and include one tip and one hilt. These must have constituted at least two swords, and possibly more. Remains of a wooden scabbard are evident on most pieces.

Radiographs (pl. LXI) were made of three of these fragments, revealing pattern-welding in each case. Mainly because of the generally badly rusted state of

¹ T. C. Lethbridge, *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk*, fig. I. A. 2.

Anglo-Saxon swords, and the fact that they are still encrusted with the remains of wooden scabbards, the character of such blades has not been apparent. In recent years, however, one or two swords have been found in a sufficiently good state of preservation to show that the blades are pattern-welded (known as 'damascened' in the past), i.e. at Waterbeach, Cambs.,¹ and Ely Fields Farm, near Ely.² In cases where it is undesirable to attempt to clean the sword, or where there is little left but rust, radiographs have been taken, and have been successful in establishing whether pattern-welding is present and even the actual pattern.

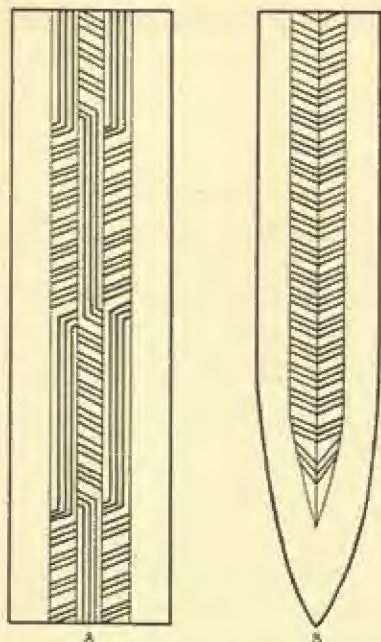


FIG. 5. Diagrams of the pattern-welding in sword fragments A and B as suggested by the radiographs pl. LXI

Tests up to date indicate that the percentage of pattern-welded swords in use in Anglo-Saxon England during the pagan period may have been fairly high. The swords found in the Sutton Hoo ship burial and in the Broomfield and Taplow barrows are pattern-welded,³ but in the Kentish cemetery for lesser folk at Howletts the proportion is only two out of eight.

The structure of these blades has been investigated by M. A. France-Lanord of the Musée Historique Lorrain at Nancy, who has sectioned a blade from an Alemannic cemetery and examined it by various scientific methods.⁴ The blades were composed of many strips of iron and mild steel welded together; the two edges were of solid steel, and the centre part of strips of iron and steel alternately, the patterns being emphasized by the dark colour of the iron and the lighter colour of the steel. To form these patterns, about six long ribbons of iron and steel alternately were welded together, the resultant bar being twisted, rolled, folded, or left straight. After being ground down to the required level, two, three, or four of these long bars were welded together to form the centre of the blade; sometimes there is only one layer of these, so that the appearance of the blade is the same on both sides, sometimes there are two layers, and the two sides show different patterns.

The possibilities of X-ray for deciphering the pattern are limited, for if there are two layers to the blade, one pattern will appear superimposed on the other. This seems to be the case in all the Rainham fragments, where diagonal lines may be seen crossing diagonal lines in the opposite direction. Fragment A (pl. LXI, a and fig. 5 a), 2 in. wide,⁵ has six bands of decoration, three on each side, the diagonal and straight lines being alternately disposed. Fragment B (also pl. LXI, b, 1.7 in. wide, has four bands, two on each side: this radiograph is not so clear and shows only diagonal lines,

¹ *V.C.H. Cambs.* i, pl. 1 b.

² H. Maryon, 'A Sword of the Nydam type from Ely Fields Farm, near Ely, Cambridge', *Camb. Ant. Soc. Proc.* xli, 76.

³ R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial', *Proc. Suff. Inst. of Arch.* xxv, pt. i (1949), p. 68.

⁴ A. France-Lanord, 'La fabrication des épées damasquées aux époques mérovingienne et carolingienne', *Pays gaumais*, 10^e année, Nos. 1-2-3, 1949.

⁵ The figures show the strips in groups of three for clarity: the actual groups are not distinguishable on the radiographs.

probably as shown in fig. 5B. The radiograph of fragment C, 1.9 in. wide, is not sufficiently clear for reproduction, but indicates at least two rows of pattern of diagonal lines. Fragments A and B must therefore be parts of different swords, fragment C could be part of A or B.

One fragment, 5.3 in. by 1.5 in. wide at one edge, and narrowing towards the other, is probably the remnant of a *seax*. It may be all that is left of the third object from the right among the spearheads on plate LIX, which appears to have been a *seax*.

Spearheads

1. Tip missing, 9 in. long (pl. LIX, second from right). Angular blade, split socket.
2. Leaf-shaped blade, split socket, 14.3 in. long (pl. LIX, extreme right).
3. Remains, 5.8 in. long, and split socket, 2.5 in. long (pl. LIX, probably sixth from right).

Four of the spearheads shown in plate LIX are missing; the rest of the iron is in such bad condition that these have probably disintegrated.

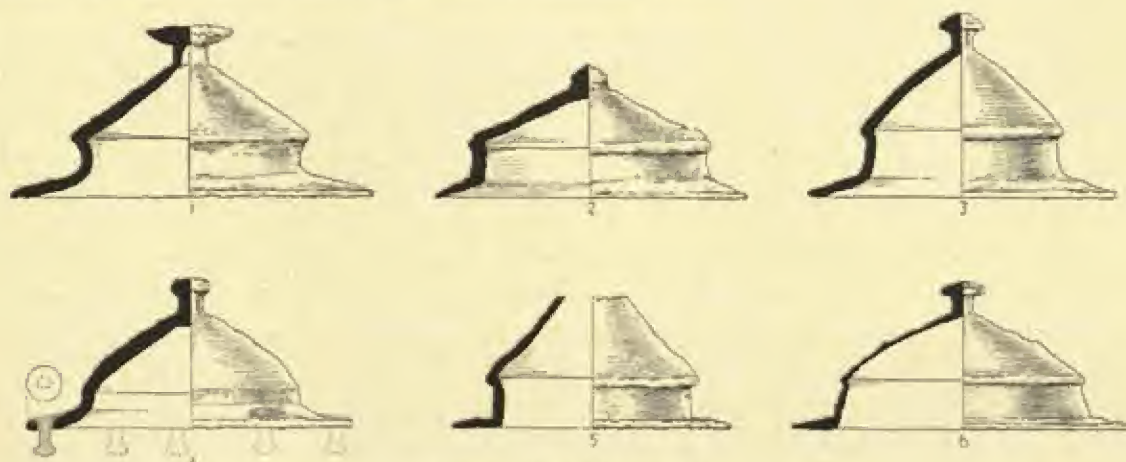


FIG. 6. Shield bosses (4)

Shield bosses

1. Wide flange, incurved waist, straight-sided dome ending in a wide flat button. Diam. *c.* 7 in., ht. 3.5 in. (fig. 6, 1).
2. Narrower flange, upright waist, straight-sided dome with knob. Diam. *c.* 7 in., ht. 2.3 in. (fig. 6, 2).
3. Flange damaged, upright waist with ridge at carination, slightly convex dome, with stud. Diam. *c.* 6.7 in., ht. 3.2 in. (fig. 6, 3).
4. Wide flange, sloping waist, ridge at carination, convex dome, stud. Five silver-plated, disc-headed rivets remaining in flange. Diam. *c.* 7 in., ht. 3.4 in. (fig. 6, 4).
5. Flange damaged, knob missing, vertical waist, dome slightly concave (fig. 6, 5).
6. Fragment, sloping waist, straight-sided dome, button (fig. 6, 6).

Iron spike (fig. 4, 14). 3.5 in. long; circular in section, pointed at both ends. Miss E. M. Crowfoot suggests this is a little pick used in weaving to push the woven threads more closely together. Similar picks in ivory were found, for instance in Grave 299 at Kingston Down, Kent,¹ a woman's grave which contained other textile-making equipment, such as spindle whorls. These picks have been identified as spindles in the past,² but this is impossible, as a spindle must be long and light, and is usually made of wood; these ivory or iron picks would be too short, and the whorl would slip easily off the pointed end.

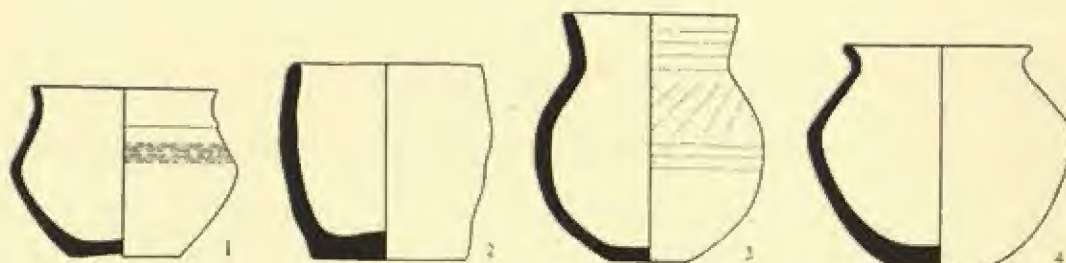


FIG. 7. Pottery (1)

Pottery

Fragments of *Frankish wheel-turned bi-conical bowl* (restored). Ht. 3.5 in., diam. mouth 3.8 in. (pl. LXII, c, fig. 7, 1); hard, light grey ware. It has a slightly everted rim, a ridge just below neck, and the base shows marks of severance from wheel. There are two rows of faint, irregular, chevron-patterned rouletting on the shoulder.

Cooking-pot, with flat base and almost parallel sides; ht. 4 in., diam. mouth 3.9 in. (pl. LXII, d, fig. 7, 2); very roughly hand-made, coarse, badly fired clay, discoloured by fire.

Globular pot, with almost vertical neck, slightly everted, base slightly flattened; ht. 5.1 in., diam. mouth 3.6 in. (pl. LXII, e, fig. 7, 3); reddish ware, discoloured by fire, pitted with marks of grass or other plants used in mixing; some traces of burnishing. Decoration is completely by rows of dots, probably made by edge of comb teeth; four parallel horizontal rows round neck, a zone of parallel lines on shoulder, and three parallel horizontal rows below.

Bowl. Rounded but with sharply carinated shoulder, slightly everted rim, and flattened base. Ht. 4.5 in., diam. mouth 4 in. (pl. LXII, f, fig. 7, 4). Grey ware with black burnish; discoloured by fire. No decoration.

The wheel-turned bowl is of Frankish manufacture and must have been imported from the Continent. Of the three hand-made vessels, two have the rounded base common in Anglo-Saxon pots and conform to typical shapes. The form of the vase, with comb-point impressions and its rough, reddish ware, indicate a date in the later part of the pagan period. Mr. J. N. L. Myres suggests that this type of decoration was

¹ B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, 93. ² Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, iv, pl. xcvi, 1, and p. 411.

probably in use mainly in south-east England, for other examples come from Croydon,¹ the Hassocks sandpit (near Lewes), Eastbourne, Lackford,² and North Luffenham (Rutland). The flat-based cooking-pot belongs to the very inferior type of domestic vessel which frequently appears on Anglo-Saxon sites. All were no doubt used for cooking purposes.

Glass

Large glass bead (fig. 4, 15). 1.6 in. diam.; in the shape of a truncated cone; very dark brown or black glass decorated by creamy-coloured marvered threads which form a five-petalled flower in a circle, and a zigzag line round the outer edge.³

Glass bead (fig. 4, 16). Max. diam. 1.1 in.; an irregular and flattened disc with rounded edges; dark blue glass decorated by an off-white, unmarvered zigzag thread within a circle of white thread.

Large beads of both these types have been found in women's graves in connexion with textile-making materials, and in these cases are no doubt spinning whorls. When found with a sword, their function was probably to anchor straps securing the hilt to the wrist in action, or the hilt to the scabbard when the sword was sheathed. They also appear to have been used as a toggle for a girdle. As their associations here have been lost, there is no way of telling what their particular use may have been in this cemetery.

The flower-like pattern on the larger bead is very similar to the design on glass bowls made in northern Gaul, and both are no doubt products of the same factories.

Drinking-horn (British Museum No. 1952 2-4 1) (pl. LXIII and LXIX *a, d*). Length 33.6 cm., diam. mouth 7.2 cm., metal 3 mm. thick at mouth, and solid for *c.* 6 cm. from the point, olive-green and bubbly. The body is slightly twisted, and the rim has a roughly chipped appearance.⁴ Decoration is by self-coloured trails; a thick snickered band one inch below the rim, and an inch below this is a thick trail pulled down into the shape of arcades; thick vertical trails run from the point of each arcade to the tip of the horn, where they are flush with the surface.

Drinking-horn (British Museum No. 1952 2-5 1) (pl. LXIII, *b, c*). Diam. of mouth 8 cm.; very similar to above, but not sufficient fragments remain to reconstruct the whole glass.

A fragment of the second horn was examined by spectrograph at the British Museum Research Laboratory, along with fragments from three glass beakers from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Howletts, Kent. All gave the same result, indicating a higher content of sodium than potassium. One of these glasses was subsequently analysed

¹ In the British Museum.

² T. C. Lethbridge, *A Cemetery at Lackford, Suffolk*, fig. 5, No. 49. 2.

³ Cf. F. Moreau, *Collection Caranda*, pl. xxxiv, 23, and R. C. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. 21. 96.

⁴ The jagged effect is caused by severance of the vessel at the neck by application of some cool agent. A smooth

finish is effected by reheating, but in the late Roman period some vessels were left at this stage and retained sharp snapped-off rims which are hardly inviting on a drinking-glass. A bevelled but still sharp rim may sometimes have been produced by grinding. W. Haberey, 'Spätantike Gläser aus Gräbern von Mayen', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft 147, Taf. 35, Abb. 1, S. 255.

chemically, and the spectrographic results were confirmed. This is in accordance with analyses of other glasses of Migration or Merovingian periods from Belgium, France, and Sweden.¹ In the Roman period glass was made by using a potassium flux obtained from vegetable ashes. The use of soda, however, supplanted this in the fourth century, the soda being obtained from natron imported from the Mediterranean, and glasses of this formula continued into the Carolingian period.²

These horns were included by Dr. D. B. Harden in his survey of Anglo-Saxon glasses,³ where he pointed out that they were the only two known in Britain. Glass vessels during the Roman period and the following centuries belonged to that group of goods requiring special technical knowledge in the manufacture such as bronze vessels⁴ and pattern-welded sword-blades,⁵ which were apparently produced in special centres on the Continent for export to other countries. As they are not likely to have been made in England, it is necessary to place them in their continental milieu in seeking a conclusion as to their date and place of origin. No detailed study of the type has yet been published, but it seems that some useful conclusions might be drawn from such facts as are accessible at the present time.

The following list of glass horns is probably not complete, for there may be more in private collections.

Germany

1. Bingerbrück (pl. LXIX, *b, e*). British Museum 73 5-2 212.

L. 33.5 cm. (tip broken). Light olive-green, rim flared and cut, flattened tip, horizontal trails and diagonal vertical loops, two suspension loops connected by snickered trail.

W. A. von Jenny, *Die Kunst der Germanen im frühen Mittelalter*, Abb. 79, right.

2. Aachen (pl. LXVI, *c* and fig. 8, 2). Landesmuseum Bonn, 21422.

L. 34.2 cm. Light olive-green; rim flared and cut, flattened tip, horizontal trails near tip, rest of body divided into panels by blue and brown snickered trails and zigzag borders, the panels ornamented by a single drop or zigzags, two suspension loops.

H. Lehner, *Provinzialmuseum in Bonn, Führer*, i (1924), Taf. xviii. 3, S. 81.

3. ? Köln (pl. LXV, *d*). Landesmuseum, Bonn 4331.

L. 32 cm. Light green; rim widened and cut, vertical twisted loops, two separate suspension loops.

H. Lehner, *op. cit.*, S. 81 (mention only).

4. (Unknown) (pl. LXVI, 6). Sammlung Diergardt, Röm. Germ. Mus., Köln, 34, 457.

L. 23 cm. Light olive-green; rim slightly flared and ground flat, brown and self trail decoration, horizontal near tip, zigzag near rim, vertical snickered trails forming panels in centre, each occupied by a wide zigzag.

Musée de Mariemont, *Les Chefs-d'œuvre de la Rhénanie Romaine* (1948), pl. 17, No. 150.

¹ E. Salin, *Le haut moyen-âge en Lorraine d'après le mobilier funéraire*, 1939, p. 194; G. Faider Feytmans, 'Les verreries des époques romaine et mérovingienne', *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, x, 1940, No. 4, p. 4; R. Chambon and H. Arbman, 'Deux Fours à verre d'époque mérovingienne à Macquenoise (Belgique)', *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Årsberättelse*, 1951-2, p. 231; W. A. Thorpe, *English Glass* (1949), p. 67.

² H. Arbman, *Schweden und das Karolingische Reich*, p. 251, *et. seq.*

³ D. B. Harden, 'Glass Vessels in Anglo-Saxon Britain', *The Archaeological News Letter*, July 1950, iii, No. 2; also mentioned by W. A. Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁴ A. Bjørn, 'Bronsekar og Glass begre fra Folkevandringstiden', *Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter*, 1929.

⁵ France-Lanord, *op. cit.*

5. Probably Köln (pl. LXVII, *d*). Röm. Germ. Mus., Köln, 983.
L. 13 cm. Light green; rim flared and cut, flat tip, three zones of horizontal white trails.
6. Aachenstrasse, Köln (pl. LXIV, *c* and fig. 8, 1). Röm. Germ. Mus., Köln, 793.
L. 25 cm. Colourless; rim slightly flared and rough, twist at tip only.
Bonner Jahrbücher, Heft 115, 1906, S. 425, Taf. xxv. 61. 1.
7. Middle Rhine. Vom Rath collection, Köln.
L. 34 cm. Colourless; rim flared, self trails in network, and zone of horizontal trails near tip.
A. Kisa, *Die antiken Gläser der Frau Maria vom Rath*, Taf. ix. 82.
8. Probably Köln (pl. LXIV, *b*). Sammlung Disch, Landesmuseum Bonn, 1706.
L. 27.4 cm. Colourless; flared cut rim, horizontal trails of light opaque blue from near tip to rim.
Jahrbücher d. Vereins v. AlterthumsFr. im Rheinl., Heft lxxi, Taf. vi. 1370.
9. Köln. Sammlung Disch.
L. 23 cm. Light green; rim flared, two dolphin suspension loops.
Jahrbücher d. Vereins v. AlterthumsFr. im Rheinl. xxxvi, Taf. iii. 1, S. 120; *ibid.* lxxi, Taf. vi. 1369.
10. } Dotzheimer Strasse, Wiesbaden (pl. LXVII, *e*). Wiesbaden Museum.
11. } Two horns, L. 19 cm. Light green; flared smooth rim, flat tip, three zones of white trails marvered and feathered.
L. Lindenschmidt, *Handbuch der Deutschen Alterthumskunde*, i, S. 478, Taf. xxxii. 12, where the provenance is given as 'Rheinland'.
12. Dotzheimer Strasse, Wiesbaden (pl. LXVII, *b*). Wiesbaden Museum.
L. 25.4 cm. Light green; flared rim, flat tip, five zones of horizontal trails, two suspension loops connected by a plain trail.
L. Lindenschmidt, *op. cit.*, S. 478, Taf. xxxii. 11.
13. Krefeld-Gellep II, Grave 71.
Traces only of a brown glass horn with network decoration.
A. Steeger, *Katalog zur Ausstellung 'Niederrheinische Gläser und Glasmalereien'*, Krefeld, 1947, S. 75.
14. Krefeld-Gellep II, Grave 1089. Krefeld.
L. 38 cm. Light green; widened cut rim, flat tip slightly bent to one side, horizontal trails and vertical loops, two suspension loops.
A. Steeger, 'Neue Funde aus Germ. Gräbern des 4. Jahrh. in Krefeld-Gellep', *Veröffentlichungen des Heimathauses des Niederrheins in Krefeld*, Nr. 17, Abb. 1.
F. Rademacher, 'Fränkische Gläser aus dem Rheinland', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 147 (1942), Taf. 52. 3.
15. Maria Münster, Worms (pl. LXV, *c*). Worms Museum.
L. 19 cm. Greenish-white; flared, roughly snapped-off rim, network trails with horizontal trails near tip, two suspension loops.
F. Soldan, 'Röm. Gräberfeld von Maria Münster bei Worms', *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 1883, S. 34, Taf. iii. 1 and 2.
16. Heidelberg, Kirchheim, Gr. 130 (pl. LXVIII, *a* and fig. 8, 3). Heidelberg, Kurpfälzisches Museum.
L. 33.5 cm. Olive-green; rim straight and cut, twisted body, network decoration on upper half.
H. Kühn, *Die germanischen Bügelfibeln*, S. 252, Taf. 130. 1; E. Wahle, *Die Vor- und Frühgeschichte des unteren Neckarlandes*, S. 52, Taf. 7. 2 and Taf. 8 lower half (associated finds).

17. Eichloch, Rheinhessen (pl. LXVIII, *b*). Alterthumsmuseum, Mainz.
L. 33 cm. Olive-green; rim straight and cut, twisted body, three rows of trails in arcades.
L. Lindenschmidt, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, iv, Taf. 59. 9.
18. Nikutowen, E. Prussia. Prussia Museum.
Broken tip only, L. 7 cm. ? Colourless, with blue and white trails.
F. E. Peiser, 'Die Trinkhorn-Ränder des Prussia-Museums', *Festschrift Adalbert Bezzenberger*, 1921, S. 118, Abb. 3.

Italy

19. Castel Trosino, Grave 119 (pl. LXVIII, *e*).
L. 27 cm. Deep blue; rim only slightly widened, thick blue network decoration on upper part of body, and white horizontal trails on lower half starting in a blob on the tip.
R. Mengarelli, 'La Necropoli barbarica di Castel Trosino', *Monumenti Antichi*, xii, Tav. v. 11, p. 295.
20. Nocera Umbra, Gr. 20.
Fragments; colourless, yellow horizontal trails, with red marvered wave decoration near rim.
A. Pasqui and R. Paribeni, 'Necropoli barbarica di Nocera Umbra', *Monumenti Antichi*, xxv, p. 203, fig. 52—sketch of grave and contents.
21. } Nocera Umbra, Gr. 17.
22. }
Two horns, L. 18.2 cm. Green, with white horizontal trails, and arcading.
Pasqui and Paribeni, *op. cit.*, p. 199, fig. 46; grave plan fig. 44.
23. Italy (pl. LXIX, *c* and *f* and fig. 8, 4). British Museum.
L. 22.5 cm. Deep blue; rim very slightly widened and ground flat; white horizontal threads starting in a drop on the tip, thick blue network below rim.
British Museum, *Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 192 *e*.
W. A. von Jenny, *Die Kunst der Germanen im frühen Mittelalter*, Abb. 79.
24. Italy (pl. LXVIII, *d*). Colección Amatller, Barcelona.
L. 13.5 cm. Greenish; white horizontal trail on lower half, starting in a blob on the point, red trails marvered and feathered in two directions on the upper part.
J. Gudiol y Cunill, *Catàlech dels Vidres de la Colecció Amatller*, 1925, p. 21, No. 77.

Denmark

25. Lærkenfeldt (pl. LXVII, *c*). National Museum, Copenhagen.
L. 30 cm. Light green; rim flared and cut, flat tip, diagonally twisted loops overlaid on lower part by horizontal trails.
H. Norling-Christensen, 'Germanisk Jærnalders Begyndelse i Norden', *Viking*, xiii (1949), pl. III.
26. Himlingøje, Seeland (pl. LXV, *a*). Copenhagen.
L. 25.5 cm. Light green; slightly flared rim, hooked tip, diagonal rippling, opaque yellow-green horizontal trails below mouth.
S. Muller, *Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager*, ii, fig. 334; H. Norling-Christensen, 'Jærnalder gravpladsen ved Himlingøje', *Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 1951, fig. 3.
27. Himlingøje (pl. LXIV, *d*). Copenhagen.
Broken, external diam. of mouth 8.9 cm. Light green; rim thickened and slightly widened, hooked tip, diagonal looped trails and horizontal trails near tip.

28. Sperrestrup, Seeland (pl. LXV, *b*). Copenhagen.

L. 23 cm. (tip missing). Light green; rim flared, diagonal rippling.
Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1871, S. 445.

England

29. Rainham, Essex (pl. LXII, *a* and *b*, LXIX *a*, *d*). British Museum Reg. No. 1952 2-4 1.

L. 33.6 cm. Olive green; straight, cut rim, twisted body, arcading and vertical trails, a single horizontal snickered trail near rim.

30. Rainham (pl. LXII, *b*, *c*). British Museum Reg. No. 1952 2-5 1.

Similar to above, but broken.

Norway

31. Høien, Varhaug (pl. LXVII, *a*). Stavanger Museum.

End missing, diam. of mouth 9.3 cm. Light olive-green; rim flared and cut, slightly twisted body, zones of horizontal trails, two suspension loops.

H. Norling-Christensen, 1949, *op. cit.*, pl. v. 1.

32. Skadberg, Haaland (pl. LXVI, *e*). Bergen Museum.

Two fragments, L. 16 cm. and 15.5 cm. Light green; rim flared and ground flat, flat tip, two (? originally) suspension loops, connected by a rippling trail, zones of horizontal trails, rivet-holes for metal plates.

Holland

33. Hunnerberg, Nijmegen (pl. LXVI, *d*). Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam, Nijmegen.

L. 32.2 cm. Light green; rim slightly widened and cut, flat tip, two suspension loops with connecting snickered trail, three zones of horizontal trails.

Verslag Museum van Oudheden Nijmegen, 1883, pl. II, C.I. No. 49.

Sweden

34. Österhvarf, Östergötland (pl. LXIV, *a*). Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm.

L. 34 cm. Colourless; rim flared, slightly twisted body, opaque blue and white trails forming diagonal loops, and running vine pattern below mouth.

Stockholm Museum, *Tiotusen År i Sverige*, fig. 166. *Månadsbladet*, 1897, pp. 82 ff.

Belgium

35. Samson (pl. LXVI, *a*). Namur Museum.

L. 26 cm. Light green; flared cut rim, flat tip, vertical loops with horizontal trails overlaid, brown zigzag border below mouth, two suspension loops.

Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur, t. 6 (1859-60), pl. 1, fig. 25.

France

36. Tantonville, near Nancy (pl. LXVIII, *c*). Private collection.

L. 27 cm. Brown; straight snapped off rim, twisted body, horizontal trails and diagonal loops.

E. Salin, 'Le Cimetière Barbare de Tantonville (Meurthe-et-Moselle)', *Revue archéologique*, 1936, 6^e Série, Tome vii, p. 184, fig. 3.

Notes

The terms 'horizontal' and 'vertical' trails are used with the upright beaker type in mind, i.e.

'horizontal' = threads applied spirally parallel to the rim, 'vertical' = threads applied lengthwise along the body. Except where stated otherwise, all trail decoration is unmarvered and in self-colour.

The sketch of No. 19 in Kisa, *Das Glas im Alterthume*, Vol. i, Abb. 104, does not tally with *Mon. Ant.* xii, Tav. v. 11.

The horns from Wiesbaden, Nos. 10, 11, and 12, have been judged only from photographs of casts in the possession of the Zentralmuseum, Mainz (pl. LXVII, b, e), as the Wiesbaden Museum has not been reopened since the war. All information on them has been very kindly supplied by Dr. W. v. Pfeffer.

Kisa, *op. cit.*, p. 765, and Morin-Jean, *La verrerie en Gaule sous l'Empire romain*, p. 159, mention a drinking-horn in the museum at Trier, but Dr. Gose of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum there informs me that there is no trace of such a horn in that collection.

Morin-Jean, *op. cit.*, p. 159, mentions a glass drinking-horn in the possession of the Strasbourg Museum. There is, however, now no trace of it in the collection or the records of that museum, and it presumably was destroyed in 1870 by enemy action along with many other objects.

Dr. V. von Gonzenbach has recently made a survey of Roman and migration period glass in Swiss museums, and has kindly informed me that there are no glass horns in the museums of that country.

These horns may be divided into four types, the first three of which are in chronological sequence; the last is contemporary with the third but geographically distinct. Although many of the vessels are single finds, sometimes of uncertain provenance, a sufficient number of them are datable by associated finds or typological parallels to enable divisions to be made between the earlier and later types.

TYPE I (fig. 8, 1)

Nos. 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 18, 26, 27, 28, 34

The earliest glass drinking-vessels with the curved shape of a horn are the rhytons produced in the east, and often to be found in Mediterranean countries. They take on various shapes: the wall is sometimes straight to the rim, sometimes constricted before flaring outwards, and sometimes it flares in a simple trumpet curve. In all cases there is a perforation at the point. This is really the essential characteristic differentiating horns from rhytons, and if the tip is missing it might be possible to confuse the two forms, especially as some glass rhytons have found their way into north-western Europe.¹ These seem to belong mainly to the early Roman period,² whereas the Germanic tribes do not appear to have possessed drinking-horns of glass before the third century.

The Germanic horn in the earliest recognizable context happens to be the most colourful and ambitious of them all, and this, of course, suggests predecessors of which there is no tangible evidence. Found in Sweden (No. 34, pl. LXIV, a), it is of

¹ e.g. London: Guildhall Museum Publications: *Finds in Roman London 1949-52*, pp. 3-4, pl. III, associated finds pl. II and IV, and a glass in Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, presumably found in Holland. The tip is missing from these two, but their identification as rhytons is made certain by the established first-century date of the Guildhall glass and comparison with a complete vessel of similar

metal and decoration in the British Museum, Reg. No. 1912 11-13 1, recorded as coming from Syria.

² Dated examples are the London one above and another from Mainz: L. Lindenschmidt, 'Vermehrung der Sammlungen 1904/5', *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, Jahrgang I, 1906, S. 71, Taf. v b, 8.

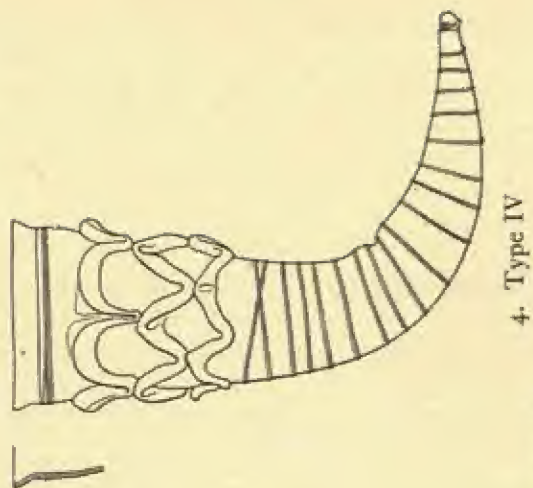
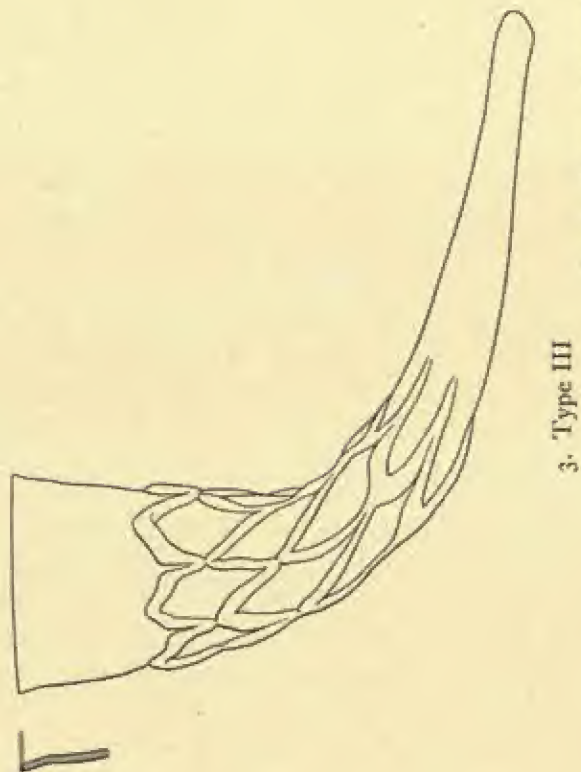
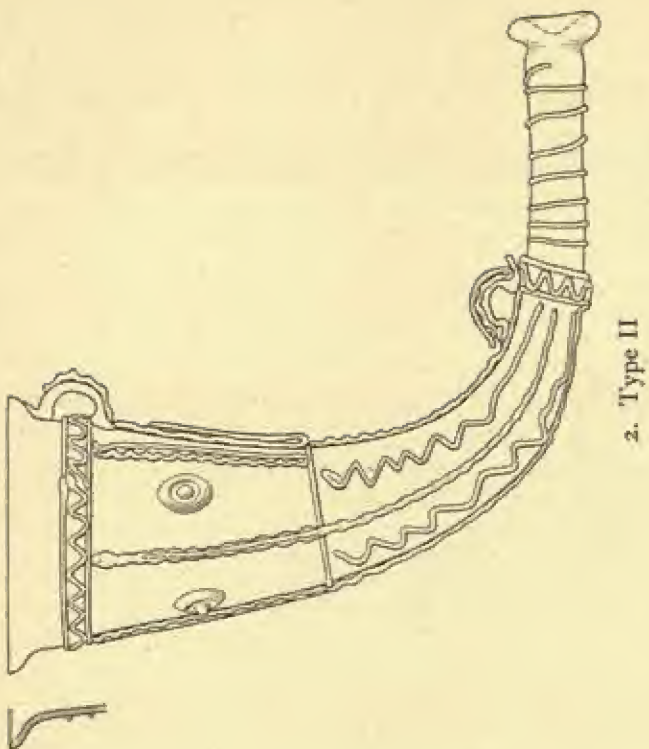
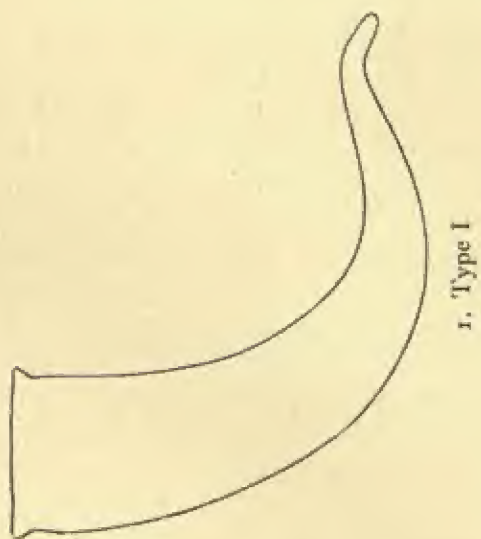


FIG. 8. Types of Germanic glass drinking horns ($\frac{1}{3}$)

colourless metal covered with opaque blue and white diagonal trails, and below the rim is a running vine border in the same colours. In the same grave were shield bosses, spear-heads, a crossbow type of brooch with wide pin-catch, etc.,¹ which indicate the third century A.D., while its near relation, the tip fragment from Nikutowen (No. 18),



FIG. 9. Distribution of horns, Type I

with associated finds of a brooch with returned foot, triangular-shaped comb, and bead, might belong to the same time or somewhat earlier.

Another horn of colourless glass, and decorated with opaque blue horizontal trails (No. 8, pl. LXIV, *b*), from the Sammlung Disch has no associations, but a third and undecorated example of colourless glass (No. 6, pl. LXIV, *c*) was found in Cologne in an inhumation grave accompanied by a number of objects and coins of Claudius Gothicus, Carus, and Galerius Maximianus. The date of deposition was therefore probably about A.D. 300.

Nothing is known of the associations of one of the two horns from the third/fourth

¹ Cf. O. Almgren, *Studien über nordeuropäische Fibel-formen*, Type VII, 220.

century cemetery of Himlingøje (No. 27, pl. LXIV, *d*): it has diagonal looped trails hooked tip, and a thickening flared rim. The accompanying finds of the other one (No. 26, pl. LXV, *a*) were recorded. Besides beads, these include a swastika brooch of the type assigned by Almgren to the late Roman period,¹ bronze-mounted wooden bucket, gold ring, and a small pot. This horn is very similar in shape and design to the preceding one but has diagonal rippling instead of trails.

The Sperrestrup horn (No. 28, pl. LXV, *b*) apparently belonged to an inhumation, but the associated finds give little information as they consist of a spiral finger ring made of thin gold wire and some sherds and unburnt bones which were not sent to the museum. The tip of the horn is missing, but because of the great likeness to the last-mentioned Himlingøje horn (No. 26) in colour, slender form with everted, rounded rim, and diagonal rippling, the original form and also the date of manufacture must have been very close.

None of the vessels so far described has been provided with loops for suspension, from which it may be possible to deduce that this useful addition is a later development. Surely the earliest example, and the original form of these loops, must be seen in the arched dolphins attached to the Sammlung Disch horn (No. 9). In time these degenerated into two simple loops, as on the Worms horn (No. 15). Later still, it was found more convenient to achieve the two loops by a single glass trail which adhered to the wall of the vessel between the loops. Such glasses belong to the later part of the Roman period and are included in the next group. In that case, as the trail is well to the fore in the next and later type and, apart from the original dolphin handles, occurs only once in the first group, it is safe to suppose that this was a development which began towards the end of the third century. To this time, then, must belong the Worms horn, and perhaps the similarity of trellis-work decoration may place here also the one in the Vom Rath collection (No. 7) and the ghost of the second Krefeld-Gellep horn (No. 13). Such a date for the Worms horn is confirmed by its associated find, a white bottle with spherical body, long neck, and four handles, for although this form has a long life it is most prevalent in the later part of the third century.²

In Bonn Landesmuseum is a horn (No. 3; pl. LXV, *d*) presumed to have been found at Köln: this has a wide undecorated zone near the rim limited by a single horizontal trail; at this line the diagonal trails covering the rest of the body are turned back sharply in a manner very different from the usual looping. Two separate suspension loops are attached, the one nearer the tip being joined to a ring trail encircling the body. The tip is pointed, but in view of several details showing close connexions with the next group (Bingerbrück, etc.) this horn seems to be a foretaste of a change of fashion which took place at the turn of the third and fourth centuries.

This first group, then, belongs to the third century A.D. and comprises glasses which are light green or colourless, pointed at the tip, and occasionally with two separate suspension loops or cut rims. Sometimes an effort is made to give a twisted effect, either by pushing the tip out of line (No. 6) or by diagonal trails or rippling. Only in the case of the finest example (No. 34) is there a suggestion of actual curving in the whole length. Decoration may be by means of unmarvered trails in self-colour,

¹ O. Almgren, *op. cit.*, fig. 234.

² Morin-Jean, *La verrerie en Gaule sous l'Empire romain*, 1913, p. 96.

opaque blue and white, or moulded rippling. The distribution is suggestive (fig. 9): a concentration at Köln probably indicates the main source of supply, and the finds in Denmark, East Prussia, and Östergötland possibly indicate an eastern route to Sweden.¹

TYPE II (fig. 8, 2)

Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 14, 25, 31, 32, 33, 35

The horns in this group are mainly distinguishable from the previous one by means of the tip, which is flattened out into a button, sometimes with a small 'kick'. It has been suggested that its shape copies a hunting-horn, and this might well be except for a likely derivation more in keeping with our knowledge of the way in which one glass-form developed into another. Apart from the curvature of the vessel, it is almost identical in shape with the stable conical beakers of the late fourth century A.D. The horn from Samson (No. 35, pl. LXVI, *a*), for example, is practically the same vessel basically as a stable beaker from Mayen.² Both have a brown zigzag border near the mouth and over-all decoration of the body by trails crossing at right angles; only the curvature and the addition of two suspension loops turns it into a horn. With this were found a fourth-century bowl of Argonne ware and a bronze vessel.³

That the horn was not the only specialized type of vessel developed from the basic cone beaker may be seen, for instance, in the glass from Flavion (Namur Mus.) where a row of hollow claws are added below the brown zigzag border near the rim, and the lower part decorated by vertical brown snickered trails. These vertical brown trails appear also on the Sammlung Diergardt horn (No. 4, pl. LXVI, *b*), running from the zigzag border nearly to the spiral trails at the tip, and dividing the body into panels filled by irregular zigzags of brown or self-coloured trails. This motif of carefree zigzag in panels forms the central portion of the most magnificent horn of this group (No. 2, pl. LXVI, *c*, fig. 8, 2), which was found at Aachen. The body is divided into three sections, the zigzag border at the rim being repeated between the second and third sections. The topmost part, which is also divided into panels, is decorated by coloured drops, and there is a spiral trail towards the tip. Its sumptuous appearance is increased by the colouring of the applications—brown and dark greenish-blue on the light olive ground.⁴

The next kind seems to have been manufactured mainly for export, if one may judge from its distribution. Apart from Wiesbaden, the other find-places are Hunnerberg (Holland) and Varhaug and Skadberg in Norway. These are all decorated in the same way, i.e. zones of horizontal trails at intervals along the body,⁵ and all have two sus-

¹ Prof. H. G. Eggers, *Der römische Import im freien Germanien* (1951), pp. 61–2, assigns the Österhvarf horn to the first part of the late Roman period, and points out its resemblance to a group of foot-beakers with snake-thread decoration. On the grounds of their eastern distribution and the absence of the type in the western empire, he considers they must have been produced at some eastern centre, and imported to the north via the Dniester, San, and Vistula.

² W. Haberey, 'Spätantike Gläser aus Gräbern von Mayen', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft 147, Taf. 37, Abb. 2.

³ *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur*, 5. 6 (1859–60), pp. 352, 372.

⁴ According to Dr. Haberey, this horn was found in a late Roman grave with two late fourth-century glass beakers.

⁵ Dr. Norling-Christensen suggests that imported glass horns were used as models by Germanic metal workers; the segmentation of the Gallehus gold horns derived from a glass horn of the Varhaug type, and the segmented bronze tip fittings derived from the Aachen type: *Viking* xiii, pp. 8–9.

pension loops formed by one continuous trail. The tip of the Varhaug horn is missing but was presumably flattened like the rest.

The Hunnerberg horn (No. 33, pl. LXVI, *d*) is decorated by two zones only of horizontal trails. The workmanship is inferior, for the metal is very streaky and the body bulges instead of tapering towards the tip. This is a lone find, but according to information from Dr. Braat, it comes from a fourth-century cemetery in Nijmegen.

The only other object with the Skadberg horn (No. 32, pl. LXVI, *e*) was a small pottery cup decorated with horizontal grooves at neck and base and longitudinal depressions, apparently in imitation of the late Roman glasses with cut oval decoration which are to be found in Norway.¹ Holes bored in the wall of the glass horn no doubt accommodated metal rivets. This provides another link with late Roman glass beakers in Norway, for many of them (especially the thick beakers with sliced ovals) have tiny holes bored in their walls: these held rivets for metal plates, which were used either for mending a break, or for ornamentation. The associated finds of such glasses consistently indicate the early Germanic period.²

The other Norwegian horn, from Varhaug (No. 31, pl. LXVII, *a*), which is almost identical in form, colour, and decoration, was found in a mound with a bucket-shaped pot of the late fifth century. This might be considered as an old glass, carefully kept, were it not for the Wiesbaden horn (No. 12, pl. LXVII, *b*), which must be of the same date or even later, as it was found with a shield-grip and a long sword with gold and silver mounts, and strap slides of iron inlaid with silver wires and garnets in the manner of Alemannic swords of about A.D. 500.³ It is therefore quite likely that the manufacture of this particular type of horn continued well into the fifth century.

Turning next to the Laerkenfeld horn (No. 25, pl. LXVII, *c*), and with it to a different kind of decoration, its relations are obvious with the last horn described in Type I, the Köln horn at Bonn (No. 3, pl. LXV, *d*): again there is the plain zone near the mouth, the single horizontal trail, and the sharply returned diagonal loops. Two further details, however, the flattened tip and the horizontal trails occupying the lower half of the body and overlying the vertical trails almost at right angles, propose development from the stable beaker. The inhumation burial in which this urn was found included also a leather belt with bronze pendants, a comb, and a distinctive tall, segmented pot.⁴ Dr. Norling Christensen points out a similar pot in the Norwegian find at Veien which has associations of the Sösdala type. At Laerkenfeld, therefore, a late Roman horn was buried in a grave of the earliest Germanic period.

Similar to this, but probably a slightly later type, is the Krefeld-Gellep horn

¹ e.g. *Norske Fortidsminde-mærkers Bevaring, Aarsberetninger*, 1881, Taf. II, 9, and A. Bjørn, *op. cit.*, fig. 11, p. 21. For another pottery copy see *For. til N.F.B. Aarsberetninger*, 1882, Taf. I, 7.

² B. Hougen, *Snartemo Funnene*, pl. v, 1 and 2, and pp. 28-30.

³ e.g. in Grave 19 at Gotterbarmweg: Emil Vogt, 'Das alamannische Gräberfeld am alten Gotterbarmweg in Basel', *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, xxxii, 1930, pp. 145-64, Taf. x, 6 and 7. For the dating and distribution of this type of sword see E. Behmer, *Das zwei-*

schneidige Schwert, 1939, and K. Böhner, 'Das Langschwert des Franken-königs Childerich', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 148, p. 218. The finds associated with this Wiesbaden horn are listed in A. V. Cohausen, *Führer durch das Alterthums-Museum zu Wiesbaden* (1888), S. 130, with the provenance of Igstadt. A strap slide, probably the same one, is illustrated by L. Lindenschmidt, *Handbuch der Deutschen Alterthums-kunde*, fig. 157, with the provenance 'Erbenheim bei Wiesbaden!'.

⁴ *Viking*, xiii, pl. III.

(No. 14), with horizontal trails and diagonal loops, and two suspension loops consisting of one continuous trail. This is dated to the end of the fourth century by Dr. Steeger by reason of the position of the grave in the cemetery and the detail of the snapped-off rim.¹ This type of rim, however, seems by no means confined to the fourth century. The Bingerbrück horn (No. 1, pl. LXIX, *b, e*) has no known associations. Although very similar to the one last described, the zone of horizontal trails near the rim has here crept upwards to fill in the blank space evident on the other two, so that the composition of the trail design is much nearer that of the Kempston type cone beakers of the fifth and sixth centuries. It therefore appears to be the latest of its type and a product of the fifth century.

In this group there remain three small glasses with applied white trails: ?Köln (No. 5, pl. LXVII, *d*) and a pair at Wiesbaden (Nos. 10 and 11, pl. LXVII, *e*). The first of these, a green beaker with zones of white trails and a cut rim, reminds one of the conical stable beaker from Andernach² and horns of the Norwegian type. The white trail decoration, however, was in use, particularly in northern Gaul, in early Merovingian times as well as the late fourth century, and this glass may well belong to either period.

The horns from Wiesbaden (Nos. 10, 11) are also decorated by three zones of white horizontal trails, but these are marvered and have all been hooked at intervals towards the mouth. The trails nearest the rim are but slightly curved, the next row have been combed so far that they form arcades, and the third row have been combed into elongated V-shapes. This pattern has been compared by Dr. Pfeffer³ to that decorating the horn in the Amatller collection which will be noticed in Group IV, but there is a difference in that there the trails are pulled in opposite directions alternately, so forming a continuous block of patterning, while in the Wiesbaden glass they are combed only one way, with the exception of the third zone, where the V-shape is accentuated by alternate combing in a contrary direction. Although the principle is partly the same, the effect is widely different. A parallel use of white arcading on cone-shaped glasses of the fifth century tells in favour of a post-Roman date, and even closer comparisons may be made with other fifth-century forms.⁴ A further significant point is the smoothness of the rim in contrast to the sharp finish of all the other glasses in this group.

The constituents of this group, then, belong mostly to the fourth century: none of those which are datable belong to the first part of that century, but an unbroken tradition from the earlier group may be seen in the points in common between the Krefeld-Gellep and Köln (No. 3) horns. At the other end of the scale the type extends into the fifth century. As to characteristics, the rim is always flared or widened and cut (with

¹ A. Steeger, 'Neue Funde aus germ. Gräbern des 4. Jahrh. in Krefeld-Gellep', *Veröffentlichungen des Heimatmuseums des Niederrheins in Krefeld*, Nr. 17, p. 75. The report on this cemetery has not yet been published.

² *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft 147, Taf. 37, 1.

³ W. v. Pfeffer, 'Zur Typologie merovingerzeitlicher Gläser mit Fadenverzierung', *Festschrift des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum in Mainz zur Feier seines hundertjährigen Bestehens*, 1952, Band iii, p. 147.

⁴ e.g. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iv, pl. CXXI, 3, 5. cf. F. Rademacher, 'Fränkische Gläser aus dem Rheinland', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft 147, S. 324, Taf. 67: in the upper illustration it may be clearly seen how the lower zone of trails were drawn a second time towards the base, while the upper zone remains as a garland, drawn only towards the rim. The whole of the body was presumably reheated and twisted to achieve the swirl.

but one notable exception), and the tip flattened: where suspension loops are present they are usually in one piece. The colour is light green or light olive-green; the decoration by unmarvered trails, opaque white, translucent brown and blue, or self-coloured. For the most part the vessels are curved on a straight axis, and not twisted on a curved



FIG. 10. Distribution of horns, Type II

axis like a natural animal horn. Even this simple curve was often not accomplished with dexterity, and the wall bulges here and there on the inner side.¹ Efforts were made, however, to reproduce the natural horn shape, and a twisted appearance, though still on a straight axis, was achieved by diagonal trails.² As a further measure, the tip was pushed slightly to one side. There is no moulded decoration.

As to distribution (fig. 10), the Aachen, Samson, and Sammlung Diergardt horns form a homogeneous group, and are indicative of Belgian manufacture for the first time. In contrast to Type I, only two glasses are found at Köln, the Sammlung Diergardt horn just mentioned and No. 5, and both of these are probably exports from the

¹ Krefeld-Gellep and Varhaug (pl. LXVII, *a*).

² Nos. 1 and 25, (pl. LXIX, *b*, *e* and pl. LXVII, *c*).

Namur region. This is in accordance with the conclusion that the Roman factories at Cologne ceased activity at the end of the fourth century.¹

The three examples at Wiesbaden and Bingerbrück might at first sight suggest a shifting of the glass-blowers from Köln to a position farther up the Rhine in the fifth



FIG. 11. Distribution of horns, Type III

century, and indeed a large percentage of Frankish decorated glasses are concentrated in this area.² But it seems possible that in the case of horns these, too, are Belgian exports: the white feathered trail pattern has its home in northern Gaul,³ and parallels of the Bingerbrück type (No. 1) and the other Wiesbaden type (No. 12, pl. LXVII, *b*) are to be found in countries outside Germany. This may be confirmed by the northern distribution, for in contrast to the eastern find-spots of Type I, Seeland, East Prussia, Östergötland, the line Nijmegen-Jutland-Stavanger may indicate a sea route from the Meuse via the Rhine mouth.

¹ F. Rademacher, *op. cit.*, S. 336.

² See distribution maps of glasses with marvered and unmarvered trail decoration, W. v. Pfeffer, *op. cit.*, Abb. 4 and 5.

³ F. Rademacher, *op. cit.*, S. 324. One of the glass

fragments from the site of a Merovingian glass oven in Belgium was a green bell-beaker with white combed trails: H. Arbman, 1951-2, *op. cit.*, fig. 3, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

TYPE III (fig. 8, 3)

Nos. 16, 17, 29, 30, 36

It will be seen from the number of glasses in Groups I and II that the glass drinking-horn rose to popularity in the third century, and maintained this popularity throughout the fourth and into the fifth century. As it was a north-Germanic drinking-vessel, it can be assumed that its use is to be attributed to the infiltration of Teutonic tastes into the Roman world. With the final collapse of the frontiers it seems feasible that remaining glass-blowers would continue to meet the demands of their Germanic customers, whom they could now supply on the spot. These productions may include the horns from Bingerbrück, Wiesbaden, etc., as we have already seen, but, surprisingly enough, the number of glass horns known to belong to the Merovingian period show a considerable decrease. Drinking-vessels made from animals' horns continued in use by the Germanic tribes of England and the North, as may be seen from occasional horn remnants or their bronze ornamental fittings. There is little evidence of their existence in Frankish territory, however,¹ and changes in fashion caused by closer contact with the Roman world may account for the smaller number. But the presence of two wheel-turned drinking-horns in the Diergardt collection and one from Aiguisy (Aisne)² shows that here Frankish potters were at pains to copy a horn, a natural one perhaps, but if the horizontal decoration near the mouth is meant to represent trails, then the model was in glass.

There can be every expectation, then, that glass horns will occur in this period, and it is fortunate indeed that three have actually been found in datable contexts, two of them in Frankish graves and the other in an Alemannic cemetery.

At Eichloch, Rheinhessen, was found a twisted, olive-green horn (No. 17, pl. LXVIII, *b*) with a straight, sharp rim, and decorated some way below the mouth with three successive rows of arcading formed by thick horizontal trails hooked downwards. The glass is 4 mm. thick at the rim. This was associated in a grave with some beads, a spinning whorl, a comb, two silver finger rings, a ring of stag's horn, two early Frankish pots (one bi-conical, rouletted, the other a pedestal bowl), and a rosette brooch of keystone garnets with a blue stone centre. This simple type of garnet brooch is common in the early Merovingian period and was in use from the end of the fifth century into the second half of the sixth century.³

A very similar horn was found in Grave 130 at Kirchheim near Heidelberg (No. 16, pl. LXVIII, *a* and fig. 8, 3). This glass, too, is twisted, with a straight, cut rim. The metal is olive-green and 3 mm. thick at the mouth. Decoration is by means of four rows of thick threads, this time hooked together in points so that the effect is more of trellis-work than arcading. The lowest row has been drawn a considerable distance down towards the tip. Amongst other objects found with this is a radiate brooch of a type ascribed to the period A.D. 575-625 by H. Kühn.⁴

The third horn (No. 36, pl. LXVIII, *c*) is very similar to the others in shape, even to

¹ W. v. Pfeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

³ H. Rupp, *Die Herkunft der Zelleneinlage*, p. 70.

² F. Fremersdorf, *Goldschmuck der Völkerwanderungszeit*, Ausstellung der Sammlung Diergardt, Köln, 1953, Taf. 36, and Moreau, *Album Caranda*, N.S., pl. 53.

⁴ H. Kühn, *Die germanischen Bügelfibeln*, S. 252, Taf. 130, 1.

the slight lateral flattening noticeable towards the tip of the Eichloch horn, but the metal is brown and the walls thin. The trail decoration of a spiral below the mouth and diagonal loops on the body occurs also on a number of its predecessors in Types I and II. The rim is said to be lacking, but this probably means that it is of the snapped-off variety.¹ It is to be regretted that the actual grave-group is not known, but the horn was one of the objects recovered from the Alemannic cemetery of Tantonville near Nancy, amongst which were shield-on-tongue buckles and a circular garnet cloisonné brooch with filigree centre: for both of these a date in the latter part of the sixth century is possible.

The sharp rim of these horns is a detail usually associated with the late Roman period, and as no rims of the Frankish period are known to have been treated in this way, this might be considered a good reason for assigning the horns to the fourth century, or early fifth century at the latest. However, even if one could go so far as to assume that the Eichloch horn was a hundred years old when it was buried, it seems hardly likely that the Heidelberg horn could survive from Roman times to about A.D. 600. The fact, too, that each example of this type has been found in a Germanic cemetery tells in favour of a later date. Moreover, the style of the rim is but one detail; these horns have characteristics which distinguish them sharply from all others. The shape of the pointed end (fig. 8, 3) may be a revival of Type I, as there is no obviously unbroken continuity from the last representatives in the third century. It is a far cry from the Köln glass at Bonn (pl. LXV, *d*). Perhaps we must once again seek an origin for it in another type of drinking-vessel, and what more likely source can there be than the tall cone beaker produced in fair quantity during the fifth and sixth centuries? To effect the long, slim lines and strong, sweeping curve peculiar to this group, the glass-blower must nevertheless have been following closely the model of a natural horn. Among other differentia of the German horns from the earlier groups is the dull, olive-green colour common in the fifth to sixth centuries, as opposed to the clear or pale green metals or polychrome effects of the Roman glasses. There is strong dissimilarity also in the shape of the rim, the thickness of the metal, and the type of decoration. On the other hand, the rim and decoration have certain points in common with some examples in the next group, which appears to be contemporary. The brown shade and thin wall of the Tantonville horn are common amongst Merovingian glasses, and the shape and snapped-off rim are additional reasons for grouping it with the other two.

An explanation of the unexpected appearance of snapped-off rims on horns of the Merovingian period has been attempted by Dr. Pfeffer, who considers that glasses with unmarvered-trail decoration were produced by the Roman workshops which continued production, and that on the other hand the marvered-trail decorated vessels are of Frankish workmanship with a Syrian tradition from the fourth century behind them.² She points out that the horns with plastic decoration also carry on the Roman habit of sharp rims, but the Wiesbaden horn (No. 10 or 11, pl. LXVII, *e*), whose marvered trails point to Frankish manufacture, has a smoothed rim. The subsequent

¹ The photograph, E. Salin, *op. cit.*, fig. 3, seems to show that the whole of the original length of the vessel is

represented.

² W. v. Pfeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

publication of the broken fragments on the sites of two Belgian glass-ovens hardly upholds this theory, for the one oven (Four 1) contained examples of both marvered and unmarvered trails. Whatever the reason however, it is in any case obvious that the late Roman sharp rim did in fact survive the fourth century.

The dark, olive colour of the German glasses, the thickness of the metal, and to some extent the sturdy unmarvered trails recall very strongly the fifth/sixth century glasses of Scandinavia.¹ The origin of these had already been traced to Belgium, for a few similar glasses have been found in the Namur region. Most of the glasses of this type are thinner, especially those found nearer the production centre, and it seems likely that the thickest beakers were manufactured for export. The distribution of bronze vessels with triangular lugs conforms closely to the distribution of the thick glasses and suggests that they, too, were exported to Scandinavia and other countries from the Namur region.² The recent appearance of fragments of these particularly thick glasses in 'Four II' at Macquenoise now confirms their origin. The Scandinavian examples have smoothed rims, but apart from that the Type III German horns are in the same tradition, and a Belgian workshop is likely. The Tantonville horn, with its vertical loop and horizontal trail decoration and its thin walls, calls to mind immediately the more delicate versions of the Scandinavian glasses, those which are usually to be found nearest to the production centre in Belgium, France, and England. It may well be that this thin type of horn corresponds to the Kempston cone beaker type and was produced for home consumption. There may have been a correspondingly thicker version of this pattern for export in the sixth century of which there is no extant example. Conversely, if the German horns represent a further development in the late sixth or early seventh century they must be the more solid version for export, and a thinner product for home consumption might be imagined.

The distribution of these glasses (fig. 11) does not run contrary to a possible production centre at Namur, for the Eichloch and Heidelberg horns would have been shipped up the Rhine, and the thinner glass found at Tantonville is suitably much nearer to Belgium and probably arrived via the Meuse.

TYPE IV (fig. 8, 4)

Nos. 19-24

It is possible here to distinguish horns with two varieties of decoration, the first of which is typified by a glass in the possession of the British Museum (No. 23, fig. 8, 4, pl. LXIX, c, f). It was acquired in 1887 together with a radiate brooch, gold foil cross, S-shaped bird brooch in garnet cloisonné, and a pair of multi-coloured glass bottles with handles, all of which had been buried with the horn in a grave in Italy. It possesses certain technical points in common with Rhenish or Belgian products, amongst the more easily recognizable being the thick trails forming arcading near the rim and the spiral of white thread which begins with a blob on the point. The first trait may be seen on horns of Type III, and the second often occurs on the pointed base of bell

¹ e.g. B. Nerman, *Die Völkerwanderungszeit Gotlands* (1935), Taf. 23, 281 and 282; Taf. 24.

² A. Björn, *op. cit.* (In this article the thinner glasses

like the Kempston cone beaker are not differentiated from the thicker Gotland type.)

beakers.¹ The rim is sharp and ground flat, widened slightly but not flared. The colouring, however, of deep, vivid blue adorned by milk-white trails is a new departure. A replica of the British Museum horn was found in Grave 119 at Castel Trosino (No. 19) along with a large number of other objects. The pair from Grave 17 at



FIG. 12. Distributions of horns. Type IV

Nocera Umbra (Nos. 21 and 22) are also on the same pattern, with the difference that the metal of the body and arcading trails is green instead of blue; the horizontal trails, however, are still white. Among the many other rich objects in this grave was a necklace with pendants consisting of coins of Justinian (527-65). Werner assigns this grave to his Group IV (600-50).²

The other kind of decoration is exemplified by Nocera Umbra, Grave 20 (No. 20), where a description only is available. This explains that the basic metal is colourless, this time with yellow horizontal trail decoration from the tip to near the mouth. Then, instead of the thick arcading, there are 'waves' of red glass paste marvered in the same

¹ C. Barrière-Flavy, *Les Arts industriels des peuples barbares de la Gaule* (1901), pl. v, 8.

² J. Werner, *Münzdatierte Austrasische Grabfunde* (1935), pp. 75-76.

way as the red waves on the little white glass cup in the same grave. Whether the waves are drawn in one or two directions is not mentioned, but the technique may be the same as that on the two cups illustrated by Kisa (Taf. iii, opposite p. 420) from Castel Trosino where in both cases red trails are applied, marvered, and drawn in two directions. Still another example of this feathered technique, and this time once more on a glass horn, is to be found in the Amatller collection in Barcelona (No. 24, pl. LXVIII, *d*). According to the catalogue, this comes from Italy, was acquired from the Simonetti collection in Rome, and is dated to the first or second century. The shape, bent almost to a right angle, ending in a point, and with a slightly widened mouth, coincides with that of the Lombard horns. The basic metal is greenish, and the lower half adorned by a white spiral trail starting in a blob on the point. The upper half is decorated with two-way feathering of marvered red and white trails.

This motif of two-way feathering is one of the earliest forms of decoration in the history of glass and had a long vogue in Egypt, for example, where it was admirably suited to the decoration of sand-core vessels, the body of which was actually formed by the winding trails. The evidence of these Italian glasses shows that the use of certain brightly coloured metals and the technique of two-way feathering were still alive in the seventh century A.D.

Examples of two-way feathering, however, have been found outside that country. In the Germanic world there is the small, dark, bluish-green jar with white trails from Dollerup, Ribe Amt., Jutland,¹ which was found in the middle of a burial mound, 1.5 metres above an urn grave, possibly of A.D. 400. With this as a *terminus post quem*, the glass could belong to the Italian group or to the later eastern glasses imported in Viking times.²

The fragments of a pedestal beaker from Colchester³ are probably medieval, but if they were examples of Italian export goods of the sixth/seventh centuries, then they might have formed part of a stemmed beaker similar in shape to that in Grave 5, Nocera Umbra,⁴ which is actually decorated by trails, feathered, however, in one direction only. These stemmed beakers, both decorated and plain, seem to be another characteristic product of Italian workshops of this period, and examples found north of the Alps probably represented exports.⁵

It is clear that as the glasses found in Lombard graves are in general so very different from those in Germanic graves north of the Alps they must be of a different origin, and Italian factories are the most likely source. It must not, of course, be forgotten that two-way feathering was amongst the techniques used from the ninth to the twelfth centuries in Syria, and may have been used there even earlier.⁶ But the fact that the horn is a Germanic form of drinking-vessel rules out any eastern supply.

The characteristics of this type are pointed tips, no twist, and cut and widened rims. The metals are in brilliant colours—vivid blue, green, red, yellow, and opaque white—

¹ G. Ekholm, 'Romerska Glasvaror i Skandinavien', *Fornvännen*, 1937, fig. 13, p. 77.

² e.g. H. Arbman, *Birka I, Die Gräber*, Taf. 194, 1 a and 1 b.

³ D. B. Harden, 'Glass beaker from Colchester Castle', *Antiq. Journ.* xxx, 70, pl. xv, b and fig. 1.

⁴ *Mon. Ant.* xxv, p. 173, fig. 20.

⁵ See J. Werner, 'Eine nordfranzösische Tierfibel von Basel (Bernerring)', *Ur-Schweiz*, Jahrgang xiii, Nr. 4, pp. 60-61.

⁶ C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, Taf. 29, 8, 30, 16, and 32, 10.

with decoration by unmarvered trails horizontally and in trellis arcading, or marvered two-way feathering.

These glasses were made at about the same time as the Eichloch-Heidelberg type, and certain similarities of shape and decoration with that group are not unexpected in view of the strong cultural connexions beginning between the Rhineland and Italy in the early seventh century. The brilliantly coloured opaque metal of which they are made, however, together with the polychrome effects, are sufficient in themselves to pronounce them as products of quite a different tradition. Their distribution (fig. 12), confined to Italy, and the objects associated with them seem to leave no doubt that they are the work of Italian houses working in the late sixth or early seventh century.

THE RAINHAM HORNS

Two views of one of the Rainham horns are presented on pl. LXIX, together with views from the same angles of the Italian horn (Type IV), and the Bingerbrück horn (Type II) in the possession of the British Museum, so that they may be compared. The views from the top bring out the difference in the axis of each: the Rainham horn is almost S-shaped, the Bingerbrück horn is turned slightly to one side at the tip, and the Italian horn is perfectly straight.

An opinion has already been expressed as to the date of the Rainham horns by Dr. D. B. Harden, who considers that their trailed pattern is so similar to that of the Kempston cone-beaker type that they should be of like date, fifth to sixth century.¹ A similar parallel is drawn by Rademacher between these tall cones and the horn found at Krefeld-Gellep, in which case the trail pattern is a very close likeness, although the Krefeld-Gellep horn is thought to belong to the fourth century. The Rainham horns, however, differ considerably from the Kempston cone beaker type in their shape, the colour and thickness of the metal, the pattern of the trail decoration, and the technique used in its application. Moreover, the general pattern of the vertical looped trail is found on almost every shape of vessel from the third century onwards, so that its occurrence is useless for precise dating evidence.

One immediately sees striking similarities between the Rainham horns and the German horns of Type III, in the slender, sweeping curve of the body, the unflared, sharp rims, the olive-green colour, and the thickness of the metal, but there are even further points of interest in the decoration.

Most distinctive is the method by which the threads were applied. The pattern is obviously inspired by the vertical loops as they occur on the tall cone beakers, but, instead of a thread trailed from the tip of the horn up to within an inch or two of the rim and looped back again, the tops of the loops are formed separately by a horizontal band, which after application was hooked downwards at intervals, so forming a row of arcades; a single thread was then trailed from the tip to meet (and overlie) each point of the arcade (pl. LXIII, *c*). This roundabout method of achieving loops could surely only have been employed by a craftsman used to producing a trellis-work of arcading by hooking downwards a thick horizontal thread, as in the case of the Eichloch and Heidelberg horns.

¹ D. B. Harden, 1950, *op. cit.*

There is one other vessel on which the effect of looped trails is given by the separate application of arcades and vertical trails. This is the blue bag beaker from Alands, Gotland,¹ where the vertical trails were applied first and the horizontal trail hooked down to meet them. A further horizontal trail was then applied over the top of the vertical trails to mask the joins. A disc-on-bow brooch of the late sixth or early seventh century was found in association with this beaker.

Similar in certain respects to this Gotland glass and also to the German Type III horns is the group of squat jars such as that found in the grave containing seventh-century jewellery at Broomfield, Essex:² they are of a thick, deep blue metal, and decoration is by means of thick trails drawn into a trellis design. Possibly the same production centre is responsible for them all.

The Rainham glasses differ further from cone-beakers in having below the rim a plain zone divided by a single horizontal snickered trail instead of a zone completely occupied by parallel threads. Snickered threads sometimes occur on earlier Anglo-Saxon glasses, but usually only vertically, as on the claws of claw beakers; they are not used horizontally until the later glasses which may be dated to the late sixth or seventh century, such as the bag beaker from Faversham,³ and the tall claw beakers from Taplow,⁴ Nettersheim,⁵ and Vendel.⁶ The basic shape of this type of claw beaker, i.e. a straight-rimmed cone, corresponds to the basic shape of the Rainham horns.

As the Essex glasses are so similar to the two German horns in almost all respects they must surely have been produced in the same district and at more or less the same period. In the matter of decoration they bear resemblances to both the German horns and the one from Tantonville, but the addition of a horizontal snickered band and the peculiar way of achieving the effect of looped trails seem to indicate a remoteness from the hey-day of the vertical loops and horizontal trail motif.

The distribution conforms fairly well to that of Type III, for the Essex coast presents a likely spot for the appearance of a specially thick type of glass manufactured for export in Belgium.

Although, therefore, there is no exact parallel to the Rainham horns, they show various stylistic particulars which are found only in a group of glasses belonging to the seventh century. They must have been made, then, some time after the Tantonville horn, no earlier than the Heidelberg horn, and possibly even later.⁷

¹ A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Alterthume*, Teil iii, Abb. 388.

² Broomfield, *V.C.H. Essex* i, fig. 19; Aylesford, Kent, W. A. Thorpe, *op. cit.*, pl. vii, b; Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire, J. Y. Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. VI, 3 and 4; Løland, Vest-Agder, Norway, Oslo Universitets Oldsakssamling, No. C. 19362.

³ *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 54, c. Another example is the blue drinking-vessel of squat bottle shape found in a well at Pagan's Hill, Somerset; photograph in *The Times*, 3rd Dec. 1952.

⁴ W. A. Thorpe, *op. cit.*, pl. xiii, b.

⁵ F. Rademacher, *op. cit.*, Taf. 46, 1.

⁶ H. Stolpe and T. J. Arne, *La Nécropole de Vendel*, pl. xxxix, 16.

⁷ According to various reports (*Colchester Museum Re-*

port, 1929, p. 29, fig. 1; W. A. Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 55, note 1; D. B. Harden, *op. cit.*, fig. 1) a third glass vessel, a stemmed beaker, is reputed to have been found at Rainham. This glass form was produced in the late Roman period, but has been found in association with very early Anglo-Saxon material. The Essex specimen, however, was found about two and a half miles west of Gerpins Farm, not in Rainham but in Hornchurch parish, in a Roman stone coffin containing two skeletons lying head to feet, together with a bronze coin, probably of Tetricus II (267-73). Near the coffin were a fourth-century pottery flask and beaker. It is necessary to make clear that the Hornchurch Roman burial has no connexion with the Rainham cemetery here discussed.

DISCUSSION

The objects found at Gerpins Farm, Rainham, were unearthed about a hundred yards east of the farm-house. Owing to the commercial nature of the excavation there are no details available as to the precise find-spots or associations, or even whether there were traces of any skeletons. However, in view of the nature of the objects and their comparatively undamaged condition, there can be no doubt that the gravel-diggers had disturbed the site of an Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery. This is supported by the record that the finds came from 'pockets' in the ground, which no doubt means that the difference of colour was noted between the grave filling and the surrounding natural sand or gravel. None of the objects show traces of fire (except the pots, which had probably been used for cooking), so that it is not possible to tell whether any of the four pots functioned as cremation urns. Both men and women were buried there, the six shield-bosses and seven spearheads denoting at least six or seven warriors, and the girdle-hanger at least one woman.

The presence of unbroken jugs indicates that the site was most likely used as a cemetery by the Romano-Britons in the second century A.D. The invading Saxons also buried their dead here, following the same practice as that adopted by the Saxons at Southend and Colchester who also used the existing Roman cemeteries. The choice of site in all these cases must have been intentional, not accidental, and may mean that there was a peaceful settlement of Saxons amongst the Britons in the southern part of Essex. On the other hand, surface indications of earlier graves may have been sufficient inducement for the Saxons to bury their dead there, for, apart from such mixed cemeteries in other parts of the country, there are even secondary Saxon burials in Bronze Age barrows.

The amount of material preserved from this site is so small that it is impossible to draw any conclusions regarding the date of the change of population or the way in which it took place. The cemetery may have been in continuous use or it could have been deserted between the second and the mid-sixth centuries, for there are no late Roman or fifth-century Saxon objects. The finds which are demonstrably latest in date—e.g. the glass horns and coin pendant—show that the site was in use until about the middle of the seventh century. The community must have been a fairly prosperous one, at least towards the end of the pagan period—in fact, probably as well-to-do as their neighbours at Prittlewell (near Southend), who could also afford gold pendants and imported glass at that time.

These two cemeteries of Prittlewell and Rainham are situated near the north bank of the Thames estuary, and so conform to the distribution pattern which may be seen in the map of Anglo-Saxon sites included in the *Victoria County History of Essex*, Volume I. These sites are confined to the vicinity of the coast and the Roman roads. Early settlement in these areas is suggested by place-name evidence, for the *-ingas* and *-ingham* names show a very similar distribution, but these occur also on the lines of rivers.¹

Archaeological evidence regarding the earliest settlement of Essex is lacking, but

¹ *English Place-name Society, Essex*, xxii and xxv, and distribution map.

such other evidence as exists points to connexions with Kent rather than any other part of the country. It is true that the majority of the inhabitants must have been East Saxons, and some similarities might be expected to the West or South Saxons and possibly to the people in Surrey, but there is an almost complete lack of objects to support this. The kingdom of Essex was under Kentish rule in the days of Æthelberht, who was overlord of all lands south of the Humber, and whose sister's son, Sæberht, ruled Essex as under-king. Even earlier relations between the two counties might be inferred from Nennius' statement that various territories, including Essex, were given to Hengest.¹ Further, there are parallels between Essex, Kent, and Sussex of place-names which contain rare personal names or other unusual elements, such as Barling, cf. Kent and Sussex Birling. Of particular interest here is the name of Rainham, for this site may well represent the habitation connected with the cemetery under discussion, and another Rainham occurs in Kent on the opposite bank of the Thames estuary. These two names, identical at the present day, may have the same origin. The earliest form recorded is that of the Kentish Rainham, mentioned in a charter of 811 as *Roeginga hām*.² It was first suggested by Ekwall that this name might be connected with the Old English verb *rogian*.³ This verb seems to mean 'to flourish or prevail' and is probably related to OE. prefix *regn-* which means 'very great', and OE. *regnian*, 'to prepare, adorn, arrange'. Rainham, therefore, may have been the *hām* or home of the *Roegingas*⁴ 'ruling people'. Wallenberg suggests that the fact that in 811 Rainham (Kent) is called a royal town may be of importance in this connexion. The two Rainhams were probably the homes of the ruling people amongst the settlers on both banks of the Thames estuary: that these two communities were closely connected is possible, but by no means certain.

The name of Rainham belongs to the *-ingham* group of place-names which seem to indicate settlements just as early as the *-ingas* group.⁵ These *-ingham* names occur mostly in Anglian territory; their rarity in West Saxon and East Saxon districts is taken to indicate that they were probably not in use for very long amongst the Saxons. If Rainham and the other few *-ingham* place-names in Essex are Saxon settlements, they are therefore likely to be very early indeed, but it is also possible that they might be Anglian settlements and slightly later. Little traffic with the East Anglians is to be expected, however, because of the dense forest inland and the disappearance of the Roman roads north of Colchester.⁶ Moreover, there is no trace so far in south Essex of the cremation cemeteries so frequent in East Anglia, although sherds of early pagan pottery are not unknown.⁷ A new cemetery, however, shows a percentage of cremation urns as far south as Gt. Chesterford, and it may be that the absence of cremation in Essex marches with the paucity of archaeological knowledge of early Anglo-Saxon times there as a whole.

¹ Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*, trans. *Old English Chronicles*, ed. J. A. Giles, p. 406.

² J. K. Wallenberg, *Place-names of Kent*, 261.

³ O. E. Ekwall, *English Place-names in -ing*, 129. This verb seems to occur once only in O.E., in the Gnostic Verses of the Exeter Book: see B. C. Williams, *Gnostic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 123, line 119 and note, p. 140.

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⁴ **Roginga ham* would become **Roegingi ham* by i-mutation, then later *Reynham* (1240), and so the modern *Rainham*.

⁵ Ekwall, *op. cit.* 155.

⁶ C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, p. 285.

⁷ e.g. from Gt. Stambridge in the Southend Museum.

As this is as much as can be deduced with any degree of certainty regarding the early connexions of Essex, it is with understandable eagerness that we turn to the Prittlewell and Rainham finds in the hope of discovering guidance in a more positive form. The connexions of the Prittlewell cemetery with Kent have been stressed, but while there may be a superficial resemblance it seems to contain little, if anything, that can be directly attributed to that county. The fashions for jewellery in seventh-century England were widespread rather than centralized, and the circular gold pendant with a cloisonné star centre at Prittlewell,¹ for instance, represents a pattern of a popular type of ornament which occurs as far away from Kent as Uncleby, Yorks.² Moreover, the finding of the treasure of Sutton Hoo has established the existence of at least one other highly productive school of jewellers apart from Kentish craftsmen, so that there is no reason why the Prittlewell and Rainham jewellery should not have originated in East Anglia or even in Essex itself. The Prittlewell circular brooches with keystone garnets³ are obviously influenced by early Kentish disc brooches, but the basic shape, that of a saucer brooch, is one which is foreign to Kent.⁴ With regard to the vessels, the squat glass jar⁵ could have been imported directly from the Continent. The unusual hand-made pottery bottle⁶ is somewhat like a much larger vessel from Margate in the British Museum, but the Asthall barrow in Oxfordshire⁷ shows that wheel-turned bottles were not confined to Kent, and the Prittlewell example may be a local imitation of such wares. The two wheel-turned pots with horizontal ribbing⁸ have parallels in England at Breach Downs, Kent,⁹ and at Hamwih. The probability is that these were imported from northern France.¹⁰ The Prittlewell community, then, like the rest of the Anglo-Saxon territory in the seventh century, was not unaware of the products of Kent, but it cannot be regarded as archaeologically proved that associations with that county were particularly close.

In the same way the Rainham villagers seem to have had little to do with the folk across the Thames. The objects which show similarity to the contents of Kentish graves are just those which could have been the result of a direct trade with the Franks, i.e. the Frankish bowl, the pattern-welded blades,¹¹ the gold coin, the glass beads and horns. The small square-headed brooch with lozenge-shaped foot and the larger square-headed brooch are the only objects which acknowledge the existence of Kentish jewellery, and this is at a long interval and through many intermediaries.

On the contrary, there are firm indications that these people faced northwards rather than southwards, and were not so securely hemmed in by the Essex forests as one might imagine them to be. The girdle-hanger is a specially Anglian possession, and this particular type may be paralleled from Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire. The

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* x, 387, fig. 1.

² E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, pl. xxvii, Grave Group 31; also at Wieuwerd, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 43 (1867), Taf. vi, 10.

³ *Antiq. Journ.* xi, pl. xi.

⁴ I am grateful to Mr. Cyril Hart for bringing to my notice a similar saucer brooch found in Whalebone Lane, Dagenham. A cast is in the possession of Colchester Museum, but the whereabouts of the original is unknown.

⁵ W. Pollitt, 'The Roman and Saxon Settlements, Southend-on-Sea', *Southend-on-Sea Ant. & Hist. Soc.*

Trans., vol. i, pt. ii, 93-141.

⁶ *Antiq. Journ.* xi, 61, fig. 2.

⁷ *Antiq. Journ.* iv, fig. 8.

⁸ *Antiq. Journ.* x, 387, figs. 2 and 3.

⁹ *Archæologia*, xxx, 51, pl. 1, fig. 2.

¹⁰ Cf., for instance, an example from Muids, Dépt. Eure, E. Salin, *La Civilisation Mérovingienne*, i, fig. 82.

¹¹ P. Lebel, 'Provenance et diffusion des épées damassées', *Revue Archéologique et l'Est et du Centre-Est*, tome 4, p. 149.

ornate, square-headed brooch has strong affinities to a group of brooches found mostly in the Cambridge region. It is not suggested that this brooch was actually made in Cambridgeshire; in fact, bungled details such as the lack of an eye in one of the lateral, downward-biting animal heads and the apparently unique positioning of the animals in the head-plate border seem to indicate the work of a local copyist. The two 'small-long' brooches belong to a type which is hardly ever found south of the Icknield Way and which has its nucleus in the Cambridge area.¹ East Anglian work, or a local imitation of it, is probably represented by the mounting of the gold pendant.

We must regard the Prittlewell and Rainham settlements, therefore, as communities which were perhaps not very large but which enjoyed a certain amount of prosperity towards the end of the pagan period. As the place-name evidence suggests that a small number of people in Essex had by then annexed and brought into cultivation a relatively wide expanse of land,² this would seem to be the reason for their prosperity. The Rainham finds have added to our information about the people of southern Essex by revealing that they were in no way isolated by the fens, forests, and the sea, but that in the sixth and early seventh centuries they bought wares from merchants from the Cambridge region and East Anglia, as well as from Kent and the Continent. Or they may have made summer expeditions to these places to buy or otherwise acquire such goods for themselves in the manner of the Vikings of a later period. In any case, it hardly seems necessary to presuppose Kentish intermediaries for the import of continental goods to a community so well positioned for cross-channel trade. In fact the most striking point in connexion with the Rainham cemetery is that out of so small a number of finds such a large proportion should have traceable connexions with distant regions.

¹ E. T. Leeds, 'The distribution of the Angles and Saxons archaeologically considered', *Archaeologia* (1945), xci, 79.

² *English Place-name Society, Essex*, xxii.



Photograph of the Rainham finds taken in 1937



a. Gold pendant, obverse ($\frac{2}{3}$)



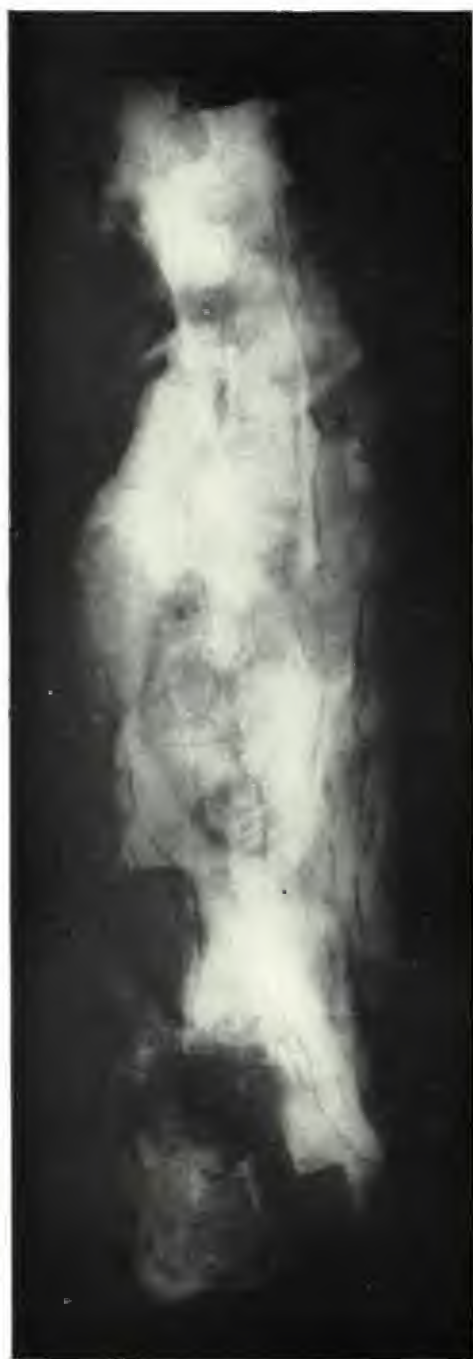
b. Gold pendant, reverse ($\frac{2}{3}$)



c. Gold pendant; detail of loop



d. Square-headed brooch and two small-long brooches ($\frac{1}{3}$)
(by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



a. Fragment A, see Fig. 5a



b. Fragment B, see Fig. 5b

Radiographs of swords



a. Bronze Age beaker



b. Bronze-bound wooden vessel



c. Wheel-turned pot



d. Cooking-pot



e. Globular pot with comb impressions
(Scale 1)



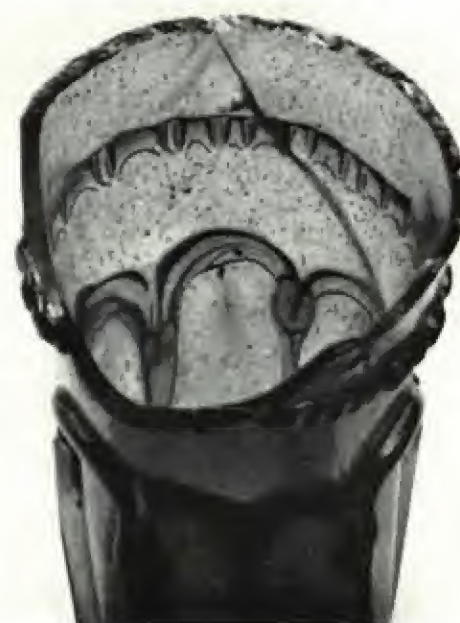
f. Bowl with carination



a. The almost complete glass horn from Rainham ($\frac{1}{2}$)



b. The fragmentary Rainham horn ($\frac{1}{4}$)



c. Detail of rim of (*b*)

By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



a. No. 34, Österlvarf



b. No. 8, Kō'n



c. No. 6, Aachestrasse, Köln



d. No. 27, Himlingøje



b. No. 28, Sperresep



a. No. 26, Himlingoje



d. No. 3, ? Köln

(Scale $\frac{1}{2}$)



c. No. 15, Worms



a. No. 35, Samson



b. No. 4, provenance unknown



c. No. 2, Aachen



d. No. 33, Nijmegen



e. No. 32, Hauland

(Scale 1/3)



a. No. 31, Varhaug



b. No. 12, Wiesbaden



d. No. 5, (?) Köln



e. No. 10 or 11, Wiesbaden



c. No. 25, Lærkenfeldt

(Scale $\frac{1}{3}$)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955



a. No. 16, Heidelberg



b. No. 17, Eichloch



c. No. 36, Tantonville (after E. Salin)



d. No. 24, Italy



e. No. 19, Castel Trosino

(Scale $\frac{1}{2}$)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955



a. No. 29, Rainham



b. No. 1, Bingerbrück



c. No. 23, Italy



d. No. 29, Rainham



e. No. 1, Bingerbrück
(Scale $\frac{1}{2}$)



f. No. 23, Italy

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1955



The Torrs Chamfrein; three-quarter view

The Torrs Chamfrein

By R. J. C. ATKINSON, Esq., F.S.A. and PROFESSOR STUART PIGGOTT,
F.B.A., F.S.A.

[Read 29th January 1953]

PART I. THE HISTORY, CONSTRUCTION, AND FUNCTION OF THE CHAMFREIN

A. THE HISTORY OF THE CHAMFREIN

THE object of Early Iron Age metal-work hitherto known as the Torrs Chamfrein¹ was found at some date before 1829 in a 'morass' (presumably a peat-bog and probably a drained loch) on the farm of Torrs in the parish of Kelton, about one mile east of Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire.² The identity of the finder and the date of discovery are unknown. The earliest record of the object is a full-size pencil drawing (pl. LXXI), lettered by parts, preserved among the Walter Scott papers in the National Library of Scotland.³ The drawing is the work of Joseph Train, a Galloway exciseman who had received preferment in his employment through the influence of Sir Walter Scott, and acted for him as an agent for the collection of antiquities and antiquarian information. How the chamfrein came into Train's possession is not recorded. The drawing was evidently made soon afterwards, and is of importance as a record of the fact that the chamfrein was already then in its present form, at least externally. The drawing was sent by Train to Sir Walter Scott, and was followed later by the gift of the chamfrein itself, after the latter had been mounted on a wooden stand with an inscribed brass plate, the better to display it.⁴

The date of the drawing is unknown, but must be in 1829 or earlier, since it is referred to in a letter⁵ written by Train to Scott on 1st December 1829, of which the following is an extract:

I likewise beg your acceptance Sir Walter of the non-descript Antique of which I sent you formerly a drawing. I got the stand made so as the brass face and horns might be seen to advantage when placed upon it. I cannot find out at all for what purpose it has been used but the numerous patches in the inside show evidently that it has been much used for some purpose whatever it may have been, but I have no doubt at all, Sir Walter, of your finding it out. From it having been found in the earth at the bottom of a peat moss it must undoubtedly be very old. From it

¹ The thanks of the authors are due to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and to Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, for their permission not only to examine and photograph the chamfrein, but actually to dismantle it; to Dr. H. J. Plenderleith, F.S.A., for permitting one of the horns of the chamfrein to be examined in the British Museum Research Laboratory; to Mr. Herbert Maryon, F.S.A., for dismantling the horn and for much expert advice; to Dr. A. A. Moss, for analysing paper from the horn; to Dr. J. G. Speed, of the Royal (Dick) School of Veterinary Studies in the University of Edinburgh, for advice on the original function of the chamfrein; to the British Non-Ferrous Metals Research Association, and in particular to their officer Mr. N. B. Rutherford, for techni-

cal reports on specimens from modern repairs to the object; and to Major-General Sir Walter Maxwell-Scott for permission to examine the replica of the chamfrein at Abbotsford.

² The exact site is uncertain, but is presumably in the area of marshy ground marked on the O.S. maps as Torrs Loch (25/782622).

³ MSS. 912, fol. 80.

⁴ The stand is preserved in the museum at Abbotsford, and now supports the replica of the chamfrein referred to below. It is of turned mahogany with a carved cruciform base. The inscription reads 'Found in the Earth/at TORRS/Parish of Kelton/Galloway'.

⁵ National Library of Scotland, MSS. Walpole Bequest, vol. 19, fols. 417-18.

being found on the farm of Torrs I thought perhaps it might be something connected with the idol Thor, but this was merely a conjecture.

Between 1829 and 1921 the chamfrein remained in the possession of the Scott family at Abbotsford. In 1841 a brief account of it by Train appeared in John Nicholson's *History of Galloway*,¹ and an even more summary mention occurs in the *New Statistical Account*.² The first detailed description and illustration was published by J. A. Smith in 1870,³ and included the first suggestion that the object was a chamfrein for a pony, and of 'Late Keltic' workmanship. A further account, re-using Smith's illustrations, was given by Joseph Anderson in 1883,⁴ and the same illustrations were published for a third time by Leeds in 1933, when he indicated its importance in the stylistic sequence of Early Iron Age art.⁵ The first photograph of the chamfrein was that reproduced by Childe (laterally reversed), as the frontispiece of his *Prehistory of Scotland* (1935).

In 1899 a facsimile of the chamfrein was made to the order of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by a firm of Edinburgh jewellers, Messrs. Brook & Son, with the consent of the owner. This was exhibited, together with the original, at a meeting of the Society on 9th May 1899, and was subsequently kept on display in the National Museum of Antiquities.

In 1921 the chamfrein was offered for sale by the owners at Sotheby's in London, and was purchased by the National Museum,⁶ the replica being returned in its place to Abbotsford, where it is kept in the museum. Since its accession to the National Museum no alterations appear to have been made to the original, apart from the filling of the engraved ornament with white paint to reveal its pattern. Since its examination by the writers the chamfrein has been restored to its former appearance, but the constituent parts have been mounted to allow them to be taken apart without difficulty for further study.

B. STRUCTURE AND TECHNIQUE

The chief constituent parts of the chamfrein are as follows:

1. The sheet bronze head-piece.
2. The horns.
3. The collars and flanges at the base of the horns.⁷
4. Various ancient and modern patches and repairs.

The Head-Piece

The head-piece (pls. LXX, LXXII) is formed of two pieces of sheet bronze rivetted together along a transverse overlapping joint, and is symmetrical about a median longitudinal vertical plane. It is broken on either side by a circular opening, and on the top by two adjacent openings corresponding to the bases of the horns. These latter holes are not an original feature, at least in their present form.

¹ [W. Mackenzie], *History of Galloway* (John Nicholson, Kirkcudbright, 1841), ii, Appendix, 70-71.

² *New Statistical Account*, iv (Kirkcudbrightshire) (1845),

p. 153.

³ *P.S.A.S.* vii (1870), pp. 334-41.

⁴ J. Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times: The Iron Age*

(1883), pp. 112-17.

⁵ E. T. Leeds, *Celtic Ornament* (1933), p. 8, fig. 4.

⁶ Museum accession no. FA. 72.

⁷ On each horn the collar and flange were originally in one piece, but are now broken apart. For convenience the two parts are named and described separately.

Found in the earth at Serris, Parish, of Kotten Galloway



A & A. The base is made of metal resembling a Cornish Jet. It is a piece made originally to describe the base
 & the dark shade represents a piece broken off some part, the shade represents as made by a hammer & back from the
 inside having a hole of oval in the outside. & the small circle represents a small patch of a different pattern
 several other patches put on in like manner to some points as the opposite side that each patch is of a different pattern
 If A hole in each side, evidently for the eyes, the holes at the end are about an inch and a half apart they are made of
 the same kind of metal as the rest of the work they are joined in by two small rings as represented at B. The whole work
 is joined together there is no other about it except a little white metal resembling black tin to fix up the eye at the
 front of the long horn. The ornament in the base appears to be painted in hot engraving. [Signature]

In pencil by J. Train, 1829.

Pencil drawing by Joseph Train, c. 1829. The ring also illustrated is probably unconnected with the Chamfrein; its apparent dimensions correspond with those of the solid bronze ring said to have been found at Dungyle, Kelton, Kirkudbrightshire, now in the National Museum of Antiquities (DO 49), and formerly in the possession of Joseph Train



a. Top view



b. Side view



c. Interior view



d. Top view after removal of horns

Seen from above in plan (pl. LXXII, *a, d*) the head-piece expands from the front¹ towards the rear, the maximum width occurring at a point 4 cm. behind the rear margins of the lateral holes. From this point the outline contracts to a broad smooth curve at the rear margin. The greater part of this margin is missing, the rough edges of the break showing that it has been torn off by a blow from a straight-edged tool directed from the inner (under) side. It seems probable that this damage was done by a peat-cutting spade at the time of discovery.²

The present width at the base of the front end is 10 cm., the probable maximum width 15.5 cm., and the probable maximum length 28 cm. The original dimensions cannot be determined exactly, as the head-piece has suffered some deformation, particularly on the dexter side.

Seen from the side in profile (pl. LXXII, *b*) the head-piece is ridged or domed in outline. The maximum height of the arched fore end is 8.7 cm., and that of the highest point, in the plane of the top and side apertures, 11 cm. The plane of the margin of the broad rear end is slightly inclined to that of the margins below and in front of the side holes, the junction of the two planes falling on the line of maximum width.

The edge of the open front end forms an approximately parabolic arch. The upper margin of the sheet metal immediately behind this edge is bent upwards and outwards, so that the opening is slightly bell-mouthed.

The two pieces of sheet bronze forming the head-piece overlap along a transverse line passing through the centres of the side and top apertures, and are fastened together by small bronze rivets. The heads of these rivets (as also of all the other ancient rivets on the chamfrein) are countersunk and flush with the surface. The overlap, 1.2 cm. wide, is visible only for a short distance above and below the lateral apertures; elsewhere it is obscured by external and internal patches. The adoption of this method of fabrication was probably intended to avoid the difficulty of hammering out a single sheet of metal to a deep double curve, and of impressing the deep repoussé ornament upon it thereafter. This ornament crosses the overlapped joint only at one point on each side, immediately above the side holes. It would thus have been possible to form the major part of the ornament before joining the two pieces together. It is impossible to determine whether the ornament passing over the join was executed before or after the marrying of the two halves, though the latter is more probable.

The overlapped joint may also have been intended to strengthen the structure by a double thickness of metal along a transverse line which would be weakened by the cutting of the two side apertures and subjected to strain through the attachment of some central device at the highest point.³

The sheet bronze employed is of a uniform thickness of 22–23 s.w.g.⁴ (0.065 cm.),

¹ For convenience the description of the object is related to its customary appearance. Thus in pl. LXX the front is to the left and the rear to the right, the dexter side being farthest from and the sinister side nearest to the observer.

² The damage is shown in Train's drawing (pl. LXXI), where the accompanying legend reads: 'C. The dark shade represents a piece broken off, since found'. Inquiry and search in the museum at Abbotsford have failed to

reveal any trace or record of this fragment, though it is reasonable to suppose that, if found, it would have accompanied the chamfrein there.

³ It is shown below (p. 209) that this device cannot have been the present horns.

⁴ Imperial Standard Wire Gauge, the usual British method of expressing the diameters of wires and the thickness of sheet metal.

though thinner, of course, where it has been expanded to form the raised ornament. Externally it is smooth and virtually uncorroded, in places even polished, though an added lustre has been produced in recent times by wax-polishing. The colour is mainly black to brown, with a patch of bright metal at the top, round the base of the horns, probably the result of deliberate cleaning in modern times. Detailed examination of the surface shows traces of the use of a scraper. The interior is rather more corroded and patchy in colour, suggesting that the head-piece lay in the ground with this surface uppermost, so that the exterior was to some extent protected from the corrosive action of percolating surface water. This is confirmed by the direction of the blow which severed the missing fragment from the rear end. The possibility of a drastic cleaning of the exterior in modern times cannot, however, be excluded.

The ornament has been raised by hammering or punching from the inside. At least in the finishing stages of this process a punch, or less probably a light hammer, was used with a blunt oblong face some 0.35 cm. in length, the impressions of which are clearly visible in places in the interior hollows of the design (pl. LXXIII, *a*). No well-defined tool marks are visible on the undecorated parts of the sheet metal.

The margin of the head-piece is strengthened by a narrow strip of thicker bronze rivetted to its outer surface (pl. LXXXI, *b*). It is 0.45 cm. wide and 18 s.w.g. (0.012 cm.) in thickness, and is decorated with two longitudinal engraved lines on the outer surface, and by close-set parallel incisions, resembling coarse milling, on the upper edge. It is now missing from the whole of the curve of the rear edge, and from the sinister side of the front opening. Apart from a single butted joint at the front dexter angle, and the gaps already mentioned, the strip appears to have been continuous, though at two places, on the front and rear margins, it had evidently broken in ancient times, and had been repaired by the insertion of a small rivet on either side of the fracture. In every case the fractures occur across a rivet-hole.

At the front extremity of the lower margin on each side, immediately behind the angle, two rivets 0.2 cm. in diameter and 2.3 cm. apart project from the interior of the head-piece (pl. LXXVIII, *a*). Their heads are hidden beneath the applied strip on the outside, and do not pass through it. The obvious purpose of these rivets is to secure a leather strap, some 2.5–3.0 cm. wide, lying within the edge of the front aperture, the free ends of which would depend on either side to form, or more probably to be fastened to, part of the head-harness (p. 214). There are no signs of attachments for other straps, but it may be supposed, for reasons discussed below (p. 215), that a strap-fixing of some kind was placed in the centre of the rear margin of the head-piece.

The two lateral apertures are true circles 4.8 cm. in diameter. Their margins are protected and strengthened each by a single U-sectioned channel of sheet bronze hammered round the edge, the ends of which meet in a butt joint (pl. LXXVI, *a* and *b*).

The two apertures in the top of the head-piece are of irregular form, though approximately circular, with a mean diameter of 3.0 cm. They have ragged edges, evidently cut with a cold chisel, and from them a number of cracks and gaps extend into the surrounding metal. The projecting tongue of metal which originally separated them has broken off, but is preserved. Roughly concentric with these two holes are

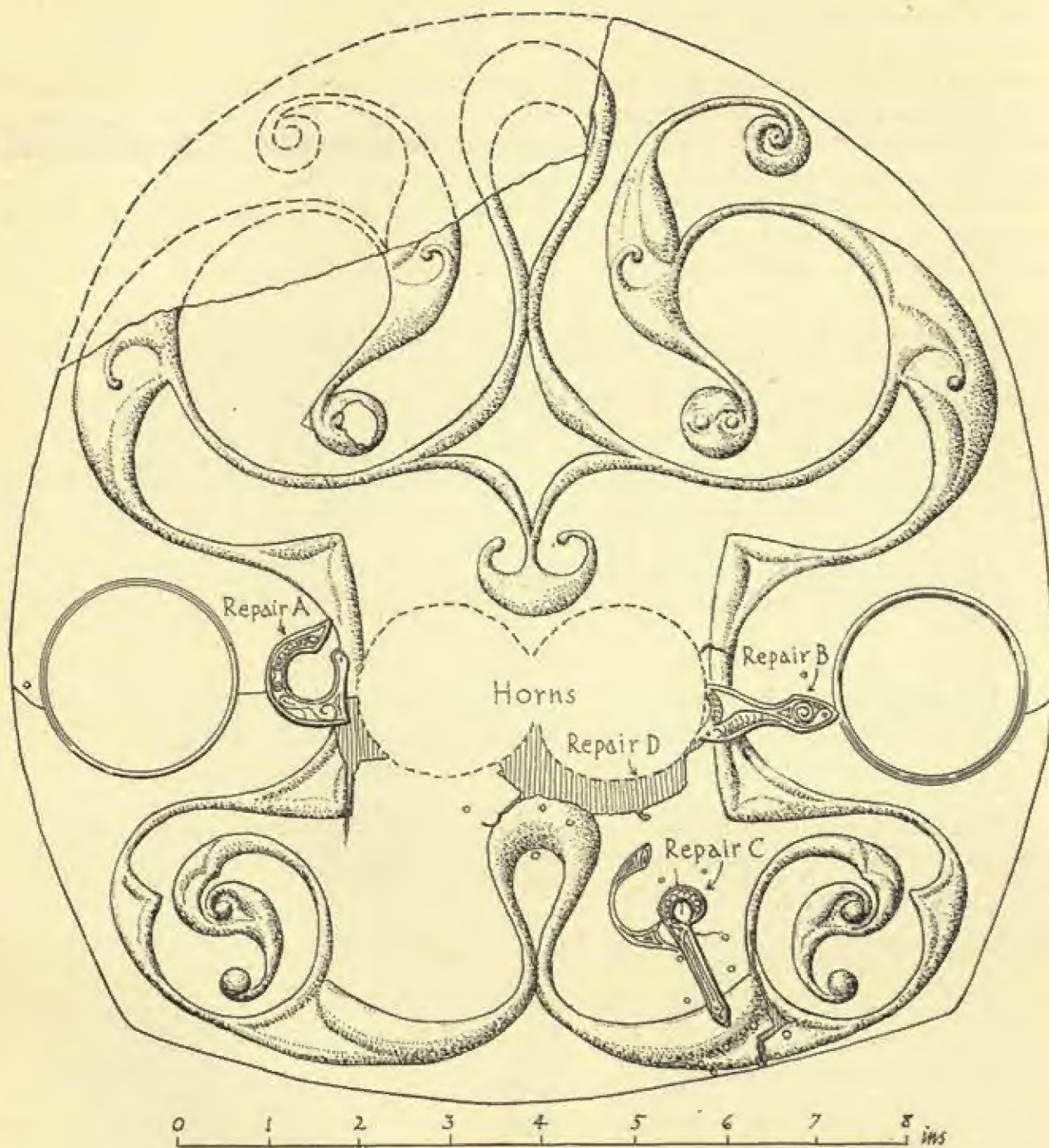


FIG. 1. Developed scheme of repoussé ornament on the head-piece

traces of two circular indentations, a little less than 5 cm. in diameter, on the upper surface of the head-piece. These overlap on the median line, and correspond in size with the lower edges of the two bronze flanges which encircle the bases of the horns and rest upon the head-piece at this point. The indentations were almost certainly made in the process of fixing the horns and their flanges to the head-piece in modern times (p. 209).

Between these indentations and the edges of the holes which they surround are a number of small holes, of varying size and irregular spacing, presumably rivet-holes (pl. LXXII, *d*). A number of them have clearly been drilled or punched from the inside. It is probable that most of them are of modern origin.

The ornament on the head-piece is discussed separately in the second part of this paper (pp. 215-34).

The Horns

The two horns are virtually identical in size and construction, except that one (horn A)¹ has been damaged at the end, presumably in antiquity, and lacks its terminal. Each horn was originally in three parts, the terminal and the two halves of the body of the horn, separated longitudinally. Each half is a mirror-image of the other, and consists of a curved semi-circular channel of bronze tapering from a diameter of 3.3 cm. at the base to 0.7 cm. at the tip. They have been hammered or punched to shape from thick sheet bronze, and traces of tool marks, similar to but not identical with those on the head-piece (p. 200), can be seen on the inside near the edges at the base (pl. LXXIV, *a*). The taper of the horns in plan is skilfully matched by a corresponding taper in the thickness of the metal, from 18-20 s.w.g. (0.1 cm.) at the base to 22 s.w.g. (0.07 cm.) at the tip.

The two halves meet on both edges in plain butted joints. The line of the joints is very slightly sinuous, and great skill has been employed in matching the opposing edges. The outer joint only on each horn (on the convex curve) has been finished with a narrow raised bead, which has been worked in part on both of the adjacent edges to follow the sinuosity of the joint.

When examined, the edges except at the base and towards the tip were not butted together, but had been pushed out of register and forced inwards, so that there was a slight overlap. This is doubtless the result of the unskilful joining of the two halves in modern times by the use of transverse bar-rivets (p. 208). In places solder had been run into these overlapping joints.

The terminal on horn B consists of a solid bronze casting in the shape of a stylized bird's head (pl. LXXIV, *b, c*). On either side there is a raised circular moulding surrounding an approximately circular eye-socket, 0.8 cm. in diameter. The bases of the sockets are joined by a narrow hole passing transversely through the head. Before examination these sockets were filled with tinman's solder worked to form a projecting eye-ball with a central depression (pl. LXXIV, *b*). These must be a modern addition (p. 207), and originally the eye-sockets doubtless held coral studs, kept in place by a bronze pin passing through them and the transverse hole in the head.

¹ For convenience the sinister horn is labelled A, and the dexter B.



a. Detail of tooling in repoussé ornament



b. Detail of original engraved ornament on Horn A



c. Detail of later ornament on repaired section of Horn A



a. Interior view of base of Horn A



b. Terminal of Horn B, before removal of solder from eye-socket



c. Terminal of Horn B after removal of solder

The visible base of the terminal, where it joins the body of the horn, is finished with a small raised collar. Probing through a gap between the edges of the halves of the horn close to the tip shows that internally the terminal is continued backwards from this collar in the form of a curved bronze shank. The tips of the halves of the horn are forced into a narrow annular slot between the base of this shank and the inner side of the raised collar and are thus held together in place. The length of the shank is unknown, but is unlikely to exceed a few centimetres.

Towards the bases of both horns a number of small rivets pierce the edges on both joints (visible from the interior in pl. LXXIV, *a*, from the exterior in pl. LXXV, *a*, *c*, and lettered *a* in fig. 2), arranged in pairs on either side of the joints. Their heads externally are countersunk, and were originally flush with the surface, though some are now loose. Inside, the rivets project for about 0.1 cm. In each pair the rivet on one half is close to, but never opposite, that on the other. In their present condition they perform no useful function, but it is clear that originally they served to hold the two halves of the horn together, by means of internal strips of thin sheet bronze covering the inside of the joints, no trace of which now survives. The technique is exactly similar to that used in forming the longitudinal seam of the fragmentary trumpet from Llyn Cerrig Bach.¹

The bases of the horns exhibit a number of curious features, some of which were revealed only when the horns were dismantled from the head-piece and the basal collars and flanges removed (pl. LXXV). In the walls of both horns, at a mean distance of 1.0 cm. from the base, is a pair of diametrically opposed rectangular holes, measuring 0.4 cm. by 0.8 cm. (horn A), and 0.4 cm. by 0.6 cm. (horn B), the longer axis of the holes being parallel to the shaft of the horn. On the outer (decorated) side of each horn only there is an ancient countersunk rivet-hole above and to one side of the rectangular hole (fig. 2, *o*). The rivets do not survive.

At the extreme base of both horns the edges of the opposed halves diverge, to form an asymmetrical cusp-shaped notch (pl. LXXV, *a*). The purpose of this is obscure, and cannot be related functionally to the present mounting of the horns on the head-piece. On either side of these notches are a number of holes, of which only one pair in each case appears to be ancient (fig. 2, *a*), and forms the lowest of the series of pairs of rivets flanking the longitudinal seam, referred to above. The remaining holes (fig. 2, *n*) are modern, having clearly been made with a twist drill and lacking any countersinking of the mouth. On one side in each horn they served to fasten a thin plate of sheet brass across the notch, to hold the base of the two halves of the horn in correct alinement, by means of small brass rivets.

Both horns bear slight decoration close to the base, revealed only after the removal of the collars and flanges (pl. LXXV, *a* and *b*). A single engraved tremolo line² encircles the base of horn A, 1.0 cm. from the bottom. On horn B, on the outer half only, a similar line is combined with a series of simple arcades executed in the same technique, which have been truncated by the filing away of the adjacent base of the horn. In both cases the decoration is identical in depth and character of line with that on the

¹ Fox, *Llyn Cerrig Bach* (1946), pp. 44-45 and pl. xxxi.

² i.e. a line of minute zigzags, formed by rocking the graver from side to side.

upper part of the horns, and must be presumed to be integral and contemporary with it.

The engraved decoration on the upper part of the outer side of each horn (pl. LXXXII) is discussed in detail below (pp. 219–22).

The Collars and Flanges

When examined the base of each horn was surrounded by a collar and flange of forged bronze (pl. LXXVIII, *b*). The collars are cylindrical internally, with a height of 0.8–0.95 cm. Externally the upper edge is finished with a bead, below which the surface is rounded outwards in a slight bulge. The lower edge is thin, raggedly broken, and in places turned outwards. The internal diameters of the collars are 3.55 cm. (horn A) and 3.45 cm. (horn B). This allows a small clearance round the present bases of the horns, and a slightly greater clearance at the level at which the collars were actually fixed at the time of examination. The collars are not castings, but have been forged to shape from bronze strip, the ends overlapping in a scarfed joint secured by a single rivet with flush countersunk head (pl. LXXVIII, *b*). Each collar is pierced by three radial ‘rivet-holes’ set approximately equidistant round its periphery; these are undoubtedly modern (p. 211).

The corresponding flanges are also forged from bronze strip. Only one, that on horn B, is intact. It is closed, like the collars, by a scarfed joint with a single countersunk rivet, and it can safely be assumed that the second flange was similarly treated, though here the joint is missing and the gap has been filled by a modern repair in sheet copper (pl. LXXVII, *b* and p. 207). In radial section the flanges are curved, the arc being approximately one-eighth of a circle. The lower edge is plain, with a diameter of 4.75–5.0 cm. and a thickness of 21–22 s.w.g. (0.075 cm.). The upper edge is thin and raggedly broken, and matches closely the diameter of the lower edge of the collars. The intact flange is pierced by six holes (pl. LXXVI, *c*) in two groups of three, of differing sizes. The larger holes have externally countersunk mouths, and resemble closely other ancient rivet-holes on the horns and head-piece. The smaller holes have been drilled with a twist-drill,¹ and are undoubtedly modern. In each case the three holes are set at the apices of an isosceles triangle, and are not equidistant. A similar arrangement of ancient and modern holes occurs on the damaged flange.

Owing to some relative distortion, particularly of the damaged flange, it is not possible to obtain an exact fit between the upper edges of the flanges and the lower edges of the collars, except over very short lengths of arc. But these small congruities, together with the very similar character of the breaks and the close correspondence of the diameters, leave no doubt that each collar and flange were originally forged in one piece, and that complete fracture subsequently occurred along the weakest and thinnest line, where the flange splayed outwards from the base of the collar. This is confirmed by the fact that when a good match can be obtained over a small arc of the broken edges the overlapping joints on the two parts line up in their correct position.

The lower edge of the intact flange is broken by an asymmetrical notch, 1.2 cm.

¹ Such holes are characterized by a smooth cylindrical bore, and by the presence of a slightly raised rim where the metal has been forced up by the pressure of the drill.

long and 0.4 cm. high (pl. LXXVI, c). A corresponding notch may have existed on the damaged flange, in the area now filled by the repair-strip, but no trace of it survives. This notch is meaningless in relation to the present use and position of the flanges. Its significance is discussed further below (p. 211).

The production of this complex shape by forging from bronze strip would require a high degree of technical skill, and it is not clear why the two collars-and-flanges were not made by the far easier process of casting. The same observation may also be made of the horns, the construction of which, in two forged halves, must have involved much more trouble and labour than the production of single castings. The impression given is that the craftsman responsible was a highly skilled worker in sheet metal, but was relatively unskilled as a founder and preferred to avoid the difficulties of producing hollow castings. The cast terminals, being solid, would present fewer difficulties, and may in any case have been made to order by another craftsman who specialized in such work.

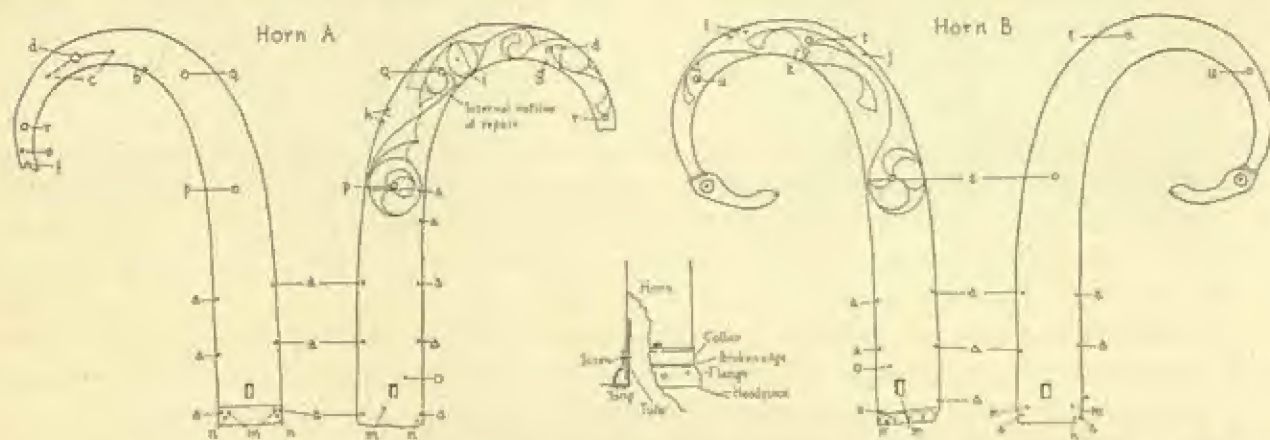


FIG. 2. Key to position of rivets and rivet-holes on the horns, as visible externally. Centre, diagram illustrating method of attachment of horns

The Repairs

There is ample evidence that a number of repairs and alterations have been made to the various parts in both ancient and modern times.

Ancient Repairs to the Head-piece

The head-piece has been repaired in ancient times in four places, excluding the minor repairs to the edging-strip referred to on p. 200 (fig. 1). Three of these repairs cover cracks which had developed in the sheet bronze, while the fourth made good some serious damage to the upper surface in front of the present position of the horns.

Repair A (pl. LXXVI, b, fig. 1) covers a crack on the dexter side above the lateral hole and immediately below the raised ornament which passes above it. It consists of a comma-shaped bronze plate decorated with engraved ornament, held in place by small flush-headed rivets skilfully concealed by the engraving, one of which is now missing. At the upper front corner of the plate the ornament passes over the head of

one of these rivets, showing that it was executed, or at least finished, after the patch had been riveted in position. The edge of the plate is enclosed within an engraved outline, in tremolo line, on the adjacent surface of the head-piece.

Repair B (pl. LXXVI, *a*, fig. 1) lies in a corresponding position above the aperture on the sinister side, and has been effected in the same manner, though here the external plate is longer and of a different shape, extending upwards to cover the raised ornament. The internal details of the rivets are unknown, as they are concealed beneath the later patch D. As in repair A the decorated plate is outlined on the adjacent surface of the head-piece.

Repair C (pl. LXXVI, *d*, fig. 1) covers a crack on the fore part of the head-piece on the sinister side. It is similar to the other two repairs, with the addition of an internal patch of thin bronze strip, held by rivets placed outside the external engraved plate. The internal patch is in two pieces, the lower overlapped by the upper (pl. LXXVIII, *a*), and is fastened by pairs of rivets whose heads can be seen on the exterior on either side of the decorated plate; internally they have been hammered flat. The lower part of the internal patch has been covered by a modern patch of sheet copper. The decorated plate is fastened by four small rivets concealed by the engraved ornament, whose heads stand proud internally, showing that the plate was fixed on after the internal patch had been made. The repair was completed by the addition of engraved ornament on the adjacent surface of the head-piece, springing from the upper part of the decorated plate. It seems likely that this repair was executed later than repairs A and B, since the form of the latter is here echoed in the combination of decorated plate and engraved pattern on the head-piece (p. 219).

The decoration of these repairs, in engraved tremolo line, is stylistically and technically identical with that on the horns, and both must certainly be the product of the same school of craftsmen, if not indeed of the same hand.

Repair D (fig. 1, pl. LXXVII, *a* and *b*) is in the form of a large patch of sheet bronze, roughly rectangular in shape, covering an irregular hole caused by the tearing away of a portion of the upper surface of the head-piece immediately in front of the present roots of the horns. The patch is applied internally, and is held in place by a number of irregularly spaced rivets, countersunk externally. This repair was evidently made later than repair B, since it covers the latter's rivets internally. The standard of workmanship, though competent, is inferior to that of the three repairs already described.

Ancient Repairs to the Horns

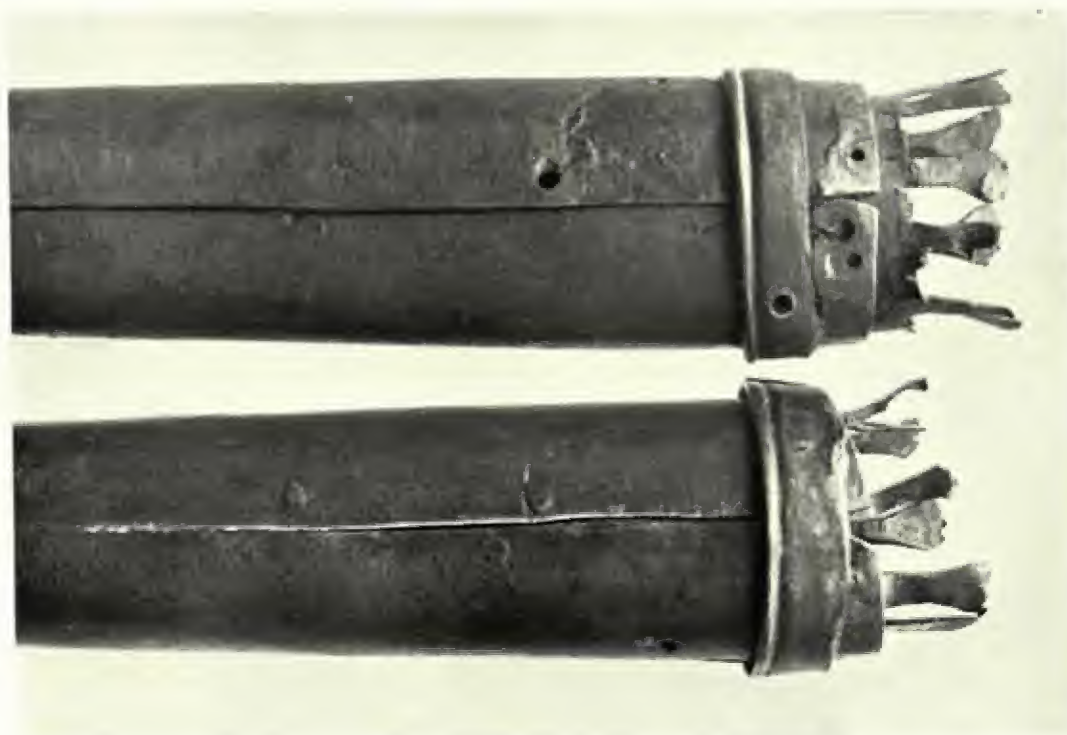
It is clear that at some time in antiquity the upper third of the decorated half of horn A was torn away or otherwise damaged, and was replaced by a fresh piece of sheet bronze hammered to the correct shape (pls. LXXVII, *c*; LXXXII, *a*). The surface texture and degree of corrosion of this addition differ slightly from those of the original horn. The repair is held in place by three small rivets set transverse to the line of the horn (fig. 2, *i*), and for additional security a considerable overlap was left to fit inside the undamaged portion. The line of junction of the old and new work coincides with a transverse line of ornament, by which it is to a large extent camouflaged. It is not clear, however, whether the damaged portion was deliberately cut



a. Base of Horn A



b. Base of Horn B



c. Bases of the horns compared: above, Horn B; below, Horn A



a. Repair B



b. Repair A



c. Top and side view of flange from Horn A



d. Repair C

back to this line, already engraved as part of the original ornament, or whether the original design was altered or adapted the better to conceal the join. It is clear that the continuation of the engraving upon the new surface is by a different hand (pl. LXXIII, *b* and *c*), the line being finer but somewhat less sure than in the original work.

Two small rivets close to the inner edge of the repair (fig. 2, *g*) may have held the end of a curved locating-strip designed to prevent relative movement between the two halves of the horn at this point. It is possible, though not capable of proof, that the two holes on the line of a crack on the opposite side of the horn (fig. 2, *c*) represent an attempt at fastening together the two *original* halves of the horn, after the damage had taken place but before further deterioration necessitated the complete renewal of one part. It is also possible that the two opposed holes in this area (fig. 2, *d*) originally held a bar-rivet similar to the modern bars described below (p. 208), but the date of these and of the two holes close to the tip of the horn (fig. 2, *e, f*) is uncertain.

The only ancient repair to horn B consists of a pair of small flush-headed rivets set on either side of an oblique crack on the outer curve of the decorated side (fig. 2, *l*). The nature of the repair (presumably an internal patch) cannot be determined. Alternatively it is possible that these rivets were intended to hold the end of a locating-strip, as on horn A, the crack being only incidentally associated with them, though an exactly similar crack and pair of rivets occur on the outer edge of the decorated half of horn A (fig. 2, *h*). Here the internal patch is missing.

A single rivet, hammered flush on both sides, on the inner edge of the plain half of horn A (fig. 2, *b*) is certainly ancient, but not easily explicable, except as a means of filling and concealing a flaw in the metal or a hole made in error.

Modern Repair on the Head-piece

On the fore part of the head-piece, close to the ancient repair C, a large crack has developed, extending into the adjacent repoussé ornament (pls. LXXVI, *d*; LXXVIII, *a*). This has been bridged at the lower end by an internal patch of sheet copper, held in place by four small brass rivets, whose heads stand proud on both sides. The uppermost of these rivets has re-used an ancient rivet-hole associated with the lower internal patch of repair C. The empty rivet-hole on the extreme edge of the head-piece, partially overlapped by the copper patch, represents one of the points of attachment of the decorated bronze edging-strip, which has broken away in this area. Though unquestionably modern (the marks of a file are visible on the edge of the patch), the date of this repair is unknown. It must have been executed earlier than 1899, since the external rivet-heads are reproduced in the cast replica made in that year (p. 198) and now preserved at Abbotsford.

Modern Alterations to the Horns

When first examined, the eye-sockets of the terminal on horn B were found to be filled with tinman's solder (pl. LXXIV, *b*). With permission, this solder was melted out from one of the sockets with a miniature soldering-iron, and, when its modern character was established beyond all doubt, from the other socket also. The solder

came away cleanly from the interior of the sockets, which were somewhat corroded and encrusted with powdery copper salts. Apart from the improbability of solder having been used to fill the eye-sockets in antiquity, or of its having survived virtually without corrosion to the present day, the lack of adherence of the solder to the underlying bronze, and the corroded state of the latter, show conclusively that the solder must have been inserted in modern times. That this was done soon after the discovery of the horns, and before they came into the possession of Joseph Train, is confirmed by the latter's statement on his drawing (pl. LXXX) that 'there is no solder about it except a little white metal resembling Block Tin to fill up the eye at the point of the longest horn'.

The second main alteration in modern times is represented by three bar-rivets passing through each horn transversely, to hold the two halves together (fig. 2, *p-u*). The three bars in horn A were removed when the horn was dismantled by Mr. Maryon at the British Museum, and could be studied in detail. Bar *p* was of bronze, hammered to a roughly square section, 0.3 cm. thick. Bar *q* was of brass, hammered to a polygonal section 0.3 cm. in mean diameter. Bar *r* was of copper, filed to a circular section, with a diameter of 0.24 cm. All three bars are unquestionably of modern origin. The holes through which they passed appeared to have been made with a twist-drill, and were not countersunk. On the decorated side of the horn the hammered-over heads of the bars overlay engraved ornament in each case. Though it is conceivable that these bars replace ancient bar-rivets of smaller size in the same position, it is in the highest degree unlikely.

The three corresponding bars in horn B cannot be examined in the same detail, but are obviously modern also. Bar *s* is of brass, bar *t* of copper, and bar *u* of uncorroded iron, most probably part of an iron nail. Here also the riveted-over heads of the bars covered parts of the engraved ornament.

Other modern alterations to the horns occur at their bases. In horn A three small holes have been drilled close to the basal angles (fig. 2, *n*), one pair of which fastened a bridge of brass sheet across the notch at the base of the seam. Two similar holes occur at the base of horn B, and were employed in the same way.

The outer (decorated) side of horn B is broken across obliquely at about two-thirds of the distance towards the tip. A pair of small holes made with a twist-drill on either side of the break (fig. 2, *k*) were evidently intended, or indeed actually once served, to fasten an internal patch holding the two parts together. As elsewhere, however, it is clear that there has been more than one modern reconstruction, as neither rivets nor internal patch now exists. Instead, the broken parts are apparently held in place by adherence to an internal mass of hardened plaster or putty.

A similar use of an adhesive material has been made in consolidating the tip of horn A. When the two halves of this horn were separated, a mass of pitch was found occupying the interior immediately beyond the last bar-rivet (pl. LXXVII, *c*), which had clearly been poured in while molten through the open tip of the horn. Immediately behind the base of this pitch was a tightly crumpled ball of tissue-paper, evidently inserted to prevent the pitch flowing too far down the horn. This paper has kindly been analysed by Dr. A. A. Moss, formerly of the British Museum Research

Laboratory, and has been found to contain mechanical wood-pulp. The use of this material in paper-making is unknown before 1869. The pitch must therefore have been inserted since that date, possibly as part of the latest reconstruction and refixing of the horns.

The remaining modern alterations to the horns, relating to the method of fixing them to the head-piece, are discussed below (pp. 210-11).

Modern Repair to the Flange on Horn A

A portion of the circumference of this flange is missing, and has been replaced by a rough patch of copper strip on the inner surface. One end of the break occurs at the original scarfed joint, and the ancient rivet-hole at this point has been re-used to rivet on the patch. This repair was probably executed at the same time as the modern repair in sheet copper to the fore end of the head-piece (p. 207).

C. THE ATTACHMENT OF THE HORNS

The method by which the horns were attached to the head-piece, both at the time of examination and, presumably, at the date of Train's drawing (pl. LXXI), is shown in pl. LXXVIII, *b* and *c*, and fig. 2. Inside the base of each horn a short piece of copper tube was inserted for a length of 3.0 cm. The diameter of the tube (2.8 cm.) made it a fairly close, though not a tight, fit in the internal bore of the horns. From an additional length of 1.5 cm. of tube projecting from the base of the horns eight broad longitudinal strips were removed, leaving between them eight narrow projecting tongues, the ends of which were hammered out to a fish-tail shape. The tubes were fixed rigidly to the interior of the horns, and the two collars attached rigidly to the exterior, by means of three 'rivets' spaced at roughly equal intervals, passing radially through the collar, the wall of the horn, and the copper tube.

Once the three parts had been fixed immovably together, the flanges were slipped over the bases of the horns (if they were at this stage already separate; it is possible that the breaking of the flanges from the collars took place at a later stage), and the projecting tongues were passed through two holes roughly cut in the top of the head-piece. The tongues were then bent outwards at right-angles, so that their fish-tailed ends were resting flat on the inner surface of the head-piece. Some at least of the tongues were then soldered in place. The metal of the head-piece was thus clasped between the copper tongues below and the lower edge of the flange above, while the flange itself, if it was not still in one piece with the collar, was prevented from moving by the collar above it, which was itself firmly fixed to the horn and the copper tube. It seems probable that at the same time, for additional security, three holes were bored with a drill through each flange and the metal of the head-piece below it, and the two parts fixed together by long rivets.

Examination of the interior of the head-piece (pl. LXXVIII, *c*) shows that the present copper tubes are not the first to have been used in this way, but are replacements for an earlier set. The evidence for this consists of a single broken copper tongue whose outer end is still securely soldered to the surface of the ancient patch (repair D) exactly in the median line of the head-piece (pls. LXXVII, *a*; LXXVIII, *c*). This isolated

tongue cannot be related to the existing tubes, and must be the sole surviving part of an earlier pair of tubes, of which the present ones are copies and replacements.

To assist the positioning of the 'rivet-holes' in the new tubes, the collars appear to have been fixed in position on the horns, so that the existing holes in them corresponded, by running melted resin between the two parts. This resin was found *in situ*, and contained round the margin of the holes minute fragments of the copper tube which had been forced into it by the action of the drill.

It seems probable that at the time the earlier copper tubes were replaced the rivets holding the flanges to the head-piece were discarded, possibly because by this time the fracture of the collars from the flanges had occurred. At the time of examination the modern rivet-holes in the flanges were occupied by small brass nails, the bent-over points of which can be seen on the interior in pl. LXXVIII, *c*; but it is hardly likely that the holes were bored in the first instance merely for these nails. That the fracture of collars and flanges occurred before the final reconstruction of the parts in their present positions is shown by the fact that a projecting portion of the lower edge of the collar on horn B has been filed away.

This method of fixing is most unsatisfactory and unworkmanlike, and is entirely out of keeping with the high standard of skill and craftsmanship exhibited by the ancient repairs. It is unquestionable that in its present form the attachment of the horns is modern. The copper tubes have been shown to have a longitudinal brazed seam, and the marks of the serrated jaws of a steel tool, such as pliers or a vice, can be seen clearly on the expanded ends of some of the copper tongues (pl. LXXVIII, *c*). In addition it may be noted (pl. LXXV, *c*) that the collars have been fixed askew to the horns and at different distances from their bases, and that the ends of the horns themselves have been cut askew,¹ in one case truncating the original basal ornament; and that in their present position the collars and flanges completely conceal that ornament.

Though there can thus be no question that in its present form the attachment of the horns to the head-piece is wholly modern, it may be objected that this does not preclude the possibility that the horns were so mounted in antiquity, the present attachments being merely an unskilful copy, made soon after the discovery, of the work of the original prehistoric craftsman.

That this hypothesis is wholly untenable is shown by the nature and position of the 'rivets' which held the collars, horns, and copper tubes together (fig. 2, *m*). On first examination these 'rivets' resembled other flush-headed rivets on the horns and head-piece, but scratching the surface showed that they were of brass, not bronze. By permission, several of these rivets were extracted,² and were found to be brass screws of non-standard diameter and pitch.³ They had been inserted into holes drilled and tapped for the purpose, the heads afterwards being cut off close to the collar and the projecting part carefully hammered down to counterfeit the appearance of a rivet-head.

¹ The cutting of the ends of the horns has been carried out, or at least finished, with a coarse file. The surface of the metal is still bright and uncorroded.

² A hole $\frac{1}{8}$ in. in diameter was drilled axially down the centre of the 'rivet', and a left-hand-thread screw-extractor of appropriate size inserted.

³ Of two specimens kindly examined by the British Non-Ferrous Metals Research Association, one had 38 and the other 48 threads to the inch, with a common diameter of 0.09 in. (2.28 mm.). These measurements do not correspond to any of the modern series of screw sizes and threads, all of which were introduced later than 1840.



a. Interior view of headpiece, showing repair D



b. Exterior view of the same



c. Interior view of halves of Horn A



a. Interior view of repair *c* (*right*) and modern copper patch (*left*)



b. Collar and flange at base of Horn B



c. Interior view, showing method of attachment of horns

These rivet-holes had obviously been made with a twist-drill, and showed no traces of countersinking. It is hardly possible to argue that the drilling of these modern holes has completely destroyed ancient countersunk rivet-holes in the same positions, since if this were the case these hypothetical ancient holes would have been impossibly small for the strain imposed on their rivets by the weight of the horns. Moreover, conclusive evidence that this is not the case is provided by the position of the holes on horn B, one of which passed through the square aperture on the decorated side (fig. 2, *m*), only just notching its lower margin (pl. LXXV, *b*). Clearly this hole would not have been so positioned by a prehistoric craftsman engaged in riveting the collar and flange securely to the horn.

It thus follows that the collars (and therefore the flanges) cannot have been fastened to the horns in antiquity, since the only means of attaching them have been shown to be modern; and without their aid it is impossible to see how the horns can have been fastened to the head-piece at all, since there is no other visible means of attachment.

Equally cogent arguments exist for divorcing the collars and flanges from the head-piece as well. It will have been realized that only the lower edge of each flange is in contact with the head-piece. Though each flange is pierced by three undoubtedly ancient countersunk rivet-holes, and though approximately corresponding holes occur in the head-piece, it is inconceivable that the two pieces can originally have been riveted together, since the two sets of holes are neither in contact nor even in parallel planes, so that the rivets would be unsupported for the greater part of their length. No Celtic craftsman capable of making or repairing the chamfrein could possibly have adopted so weak and unsound a method of attachment, which could only have resulted in the tearing out of the rivets from the head-piece as soon as any lateral or rotary pressure was applied to the horns.

Moreover, it may be noted first that in their present positions the flanges overlap one another (pl. LXXII, *a*), so that only one of them could be in firm contact with the upper surface of the head-piece; and secondly, that the notch in the intact flange performs no useful function in any possible position of the flange, and must clearly be related to some entirely different use.

From the arguments put forward above it follows that in its present form the Torrs chamfrein is a modern fabrication from separate parts, found together and stylistically related, but never structurally unified in antiquity. The construction of the existing composite object must have been carried out between the time of the original find and the date of Train's drawing (pl. LXXI) which shows the component parts in their present positions. Who was responsible we shall never know.¹ Clearly he was a man whose bold imagination was fortunately not matched by his skill in the counterfeiting of ancient craftsmanship. Nevertheless, though anonymous, he will be remembered among the most successful perpetrators of archaeological hoaxes.

It remains to consider the original purpose of the component parts now divorced from each other. The possible uses of the horns, collars, and flanges are discussed in the second part of this paper (pp. 225-7). Here it need only be said that whatever

¹ There is no reason to suspect Train himself. His account and drawing of the chamfrein appear to be a genuine record of its appearance at the time it came into his hands.

the purpose of the horns, they must have been attached by means of pegs passing through the rectangular apertures close to the base, with which the adjacent rivet-holes (fig. 2, *o*) must in some way have been associated. The internal strips of metal bridging the seams (p. 203) and held in place by the rivets along their edges (fig. 2, *a*) are not likely to have played any part in the actual attachment of the horns, since the internal projection of the rivets shows that the strips must have been extremely thin. The close correspondence of the diameters of the collars with that of the horn-bases also suggests that the collars-and-flanges were associated in some way with the attachment or embellishment of the horns, though nothing certain can be conjectured concerning their original relationship.

The original function of the head-piece is considered in the following section.

D. THE PURPOSE OF THE HEAD-PIECE

The suggestion that the object from Torrs was a chamfrein or frontal for a Celtic pony was first made by J. A. Smith in 1867,¹ and has been accepted without question ever since. It has already been shown that in antiquity the horns cannot have been fixed to the head-piece, and it is now suggested further that the head-piece itself, even if provided with some other central projecting feature in place of the horns, cannot ever have been worn as a *chamfrein*; but that on the contrary it could have been, and almost certainly was, a *cap* for a pony worn reversed from its customary aspect: that is, with the conventional 'front' fitting over the neck behind the ears, the ears passing through the lateral 'eye-holes', and the broad flattened 'back' of the head-piece covering the forehead between the ears and the rear margin of the pony's eyes. A reconstruction of the head-piece worn in this way is shown in pl. LXXIX, *a*.²

An attempt to illustrate the hitherto accepted interpretation of the object as a chamfrein is given in pl. LXXIX, *b*. The effect is ridiculous, and has been achieved only by a marked reduction of the scale of the pony's head in relation to the scale of the head-piece. The fundamental objection to this interpretation is that the head-piece is too small, even for the small type of Celtic pony for which it was designed.³ The maximum width of the skull of such a pony occurs at the rear margin of the eye-sockets and is of the order of 18 cm. for a narrow-faced head, and of up to 20 cm. for a more coarsely built animal of the Shetland type. The corresponding width of the head-piece at the rear margin of the lateral holes is at present only 13 cm., and though some allowance can be made for the existing distortion of the dexter side, it cannot originally have exceeded 14 cm. The head-piece is therefore at least 4 cm. too narrow to fit even a slender skull at this point, let alone the added thickness of a living head with flesh, skin, and hair covering the bone. Even if the construction of the head-piece allowed its sides to be sprung apart sufficiently to be forced over the head at this point (which in fact it does not), no pony would tolerate the discomfort involved, which would render it completely unmanageable.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, *supra*, p. 198, n. 3.

² The authors are indebted to Mr. Brian Hope-Taylor, F.S.A., for preparing the drawings in pl. LXXIX.

³ A reliable guide to the type and size of head is given by the skulls of Celtic ponies from Newstead (Curle,

Newstead (1911), 362-71, pls. xcv, xcvi). These belong to animals standing 10-12 hands high. Sir Cyril Fox in his well-known reconstruction of a Celtic chariot (*Antiq. Journ.* xxvii (1947), p. 118, fig. 1) assumes a height of 11½ hands for the ponies.



a. The headpiece worn as a cap



b. The headpiece worn as a chamfrein

Note. The scale of the headpiece is the same in both drawings

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a. The 'Torr's 'chamfrein' and the Newstead chamfrein compared at the same scale



b. The Newstead chamfrein superimposed on the skull of a Celtic pony from the same site, at the same scales,

Moreover, the accepted interpretation of the head-piece as a chamfrein involves a number of other discrepancies of this character. The parabolic outline of the fore edge of the head-piece is ill adapted to fit over the central part of the nose, which is flat on top and sharply angled at the sides, the transverse profile being polygonal rather than smoothly curved; and the lack of correspondence is further increased by the upward expansion of the fore edge (p. 199), which in no way matches the straight longitudinal profile of the head from eyes to muzzle. This detail of construction cannot be accounted for by supposing the necessity of allowing for relative movement between the nose and the head-piece, since the latter, worn as a chamfrein, would obviously move with the head.

A similar lack of correspondence exists between the transverse profile of the pony's head in the plane of the eyes and the internal profile of the head-piece across the 'eye-holes'. The former is flat between the eyes, while the latter is markedly domed, so that a large gap would exist at this point, far deeper than would be accounted for by the internal details of any attachment for a plume or other decorative structure in place of the present horns.

An even more serious discrepancy is that between the size of the lateral 'eye-holes' and the size of the eyes that they are supposed to have surrounded. The former measure 4.8 cm. in diameter, whereas the lateral diameter of the eye-balls of a modern Shetland pony is of the order of double this figure, and the *minimum* aperture necessary to allow free movement of the eye-ball is 6.5 cm. Thus quite apart from the fact that the head-piece is too narrow to fit over the pony's head at the level of the eyes, the 'eye-holes' themselves are far too small to permit any movement of the eye-balls. Nor can it be assumed, even for the sake of argument, that the object was intended as a chamfrein for an immature beast, for in this case, if the 'eye-holes' were positioned level with the eyes, the broad rear margin of the head-piece would project so as completely to cover the creature's ears (pl. LXXIX, *b*).

Perhaps the most convincing demonstration of the impossibility of the interpretation as a chamfrein is afforded by a comparison with an actual chamfrein, namely the example in leather, of the first century A.D., found in pit lxxviii at Newstead,¹ and preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh (accession no. FRA 74). A full-size replica of this chamfrein has been made by one of the writers. That it was of the correct size for a Celtic pony is demonstrated in pl. LXXX, *b*, in which a photograph of it has been superimposed at the same scale on a drawing of one of the pony's skulls from the same site.² The comparison of the side views of this replica and of the Torrs head-piece, reproduced again at identical scales in pl. LXXX, *a*, requires no further comment.

Once the notion of a chamfrein is abandoned, and the head-piece turned round to fit the pony's head as a cap, these difficulties and discrepancies vanish. The original distance between the centres of the side apertures, about 14 cm., corresponds closely with the separation of the bases of the ears of a Shetland pony, namely 13.5 cm. The parabolic outline of the narrow end of the head-piece accords well with the transverse profile of the neck at the appropriate distance behind the ears, and the width of the

¹ Curle, *op. cit.*, 153-5, pl. XXI.

² Curle, *ibid.*, pl. xcv. 1.

neck at a point corresponding to the basal angles of the head-piece, 9.5 cm., agrees well with the measurement of 10 cm. between the angles. The expansion of the upper margin at the narrow end is now obviously explained by the necessity of allowing for relative movement between the rear edge of the bronze cap and the neck of the pony, whenever it threw up its head.

The domed internal profile of the cap in the plane of the ear-holes agrees well with the corresponding transverse profile of the pony's head, particularly since some gap would have to be left between the cap and the skin to accommodate the crest of the mane projecting forwards between the ears. The flattened form of the wider end of the cap also conforms to the shape of the forehead, and it is clear that the front margin of the cap swept in a broad flattened curve immediately behind the supraorbital ridges and across the flat forehead between them, leaving the eyes free of any encumbrance.

These considerations leave no possible doubt that the head-piece could have been worn, and indeed was worn, as a decorative cap, covering only the poll of the pony's head, with the ears projecting through the lateral holes.¹ It may be added that this interpretation does not rest upon the unsupported opinion of the writers. It has been confirmed by Dr. J. G. Speed, Lecturer in Veterinary Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh, who kindly undertook a detailed comparison of the head-piece with the skulls of Celtic ponies, and with heads of recently slaughtered ponies of comparable size, in the dissecting-room of the Royal (Dick) School of Veterinary Studies. Dr. Speed kindly allows us to record his opinion that the head-piece could have been worn by a Celtic pony only in this way.

It remains only to consider briefly the nature of the central ornament of the cap, and the possible methods of attaching the cap to the pony's head. The existence of some central feature on the highest point of the cap is demanded by the presence here of a large void in the repoussé ornament (fig. 1), and confirmed by the damage to the metal of the head-piece made good by repair D (p. 206). This damage is best explained by the tearing out of some projecting structure attached at this point, most probably through its entanglement in the reins.

The nature of this central feature is problematical, the more so since any clue that might have been given by traces of its attachment to the cap has been lost through the cutting of the modern holes for the fixing of the horns. Some at least of the surviving rivet-holes round their margins may relate to the original attachment, but they do not yield any useful information. The nature of this feature is further discussed below (pp. 224-5). In pl. LXXIX, *a* it has been tentatively restored as a light funnel-shaped socket of bronze holding a plume of horse-hair.

The method by which the cap was attached to the pony's head is equally problematical. A possible reconstruction, in which the form of the leather harness is based upon a relief of the first century A.D. from Ancona,² is shown in pl. LXXIX, *a*. In view of the relative fragility of the bronze cap, and the lack of any evidence that it was provided with a leather lining, it seems unlikely that the straps of the bridle were attached to it directly. Less strain would be imposed on the thin sheet metal if the

¹ This form of horse-trapping persists in the delightful straw hats, pierced for the ears, still occasionally to be seen in summer adorning the heads of cart-horses.

² *Germania* xxx (1952), 189, pl. VIII. 1.

bridle itself were complete and separate. The cap would be fitted over it, and would be attached to it by three straps, two at the neck and one at the centre of the forehead, whose free ends would be fastened to the straps of the bridle proper by means of buttons or buckles. Such an arrangement would permit the cap to be fitted or removed at will, without disturbing the normal use of the bridle, and would avoid the stresses to which the cap would undoubtedly be subjected if it were an integral part of the head-harness.

The conclusions reached in the foregoing sections may be summarized as follows:

1. The head-piece, horns, and collars-and-flanges are the product of a single school of prehistoric metal-workers.
2. They were found together, but were not then or at any time in antiquity structurally associated.
3. The present assembly of the parts dates only from after their discovery, though before 1829. At some subsequent date, probably during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the attachment of the horns was partially reconstructed.
4. The head-piece could never have been worn as a chamfrein, but appears instead to have served as a cap, supporting a central plume or other decorative feature.

It may be added that the association of these curiously assorted items of a Celtic chieftain's panoply in a peat-bog, almost certainly once a loch, suggests a deliberate ritual deposit comparable with that at Llyn Cerrig Bach, or with the well-known find in a cauldron from Carlingwark Loch, only two miles from Torrs. The constituent parts of the erstwhile 'chamfrein' may in fact be only a small part of a greater hoard of La Tène metalwork, of which the remainder still awaits discovery. If some means can be found of narrowing the area of search, Torrs Loch may well repay further examination.

PART II. THE STYLISTIC AFFINITIES OF THE HEAD-PIECE AND THE HORNS

A. THE REPOUSSÉ PATTERN ON THE HEAD-PIECE

The design on the head-piece has not previously been discussed or illustrated in detail. Leeds in 1933 pointed out its general affinities with such pieces as the Wandsworth and Witham shield-bosses and with the scabbard-mount also from the latter river,¹ grouping them, with other examples decorated mainly with engraved patterns, as products of an early school of British Early Iron Age metalwork. Fox, incidentally commenting on one feature of the Torrs design, noted its connexions with the Ulceby bridle-bits on the one hand and with the Newnham Croft armlet (fig. 5) on the other,² and tentatively assigned the Torrs piece to the second century B.C.

As we have seen, it is necessary to dissociate the horns from the head-piece in any discussion of this kind, and similarly we must, on the head-piece itself, separate the main pattern from that on or associated with the three decorative repair-strips. Presented as a developed drawing in Fig. 1, the main design can be seen to be a balanced composition, symmetrically repetitive on each side of the long axis of the cap and consisting of two analogous figures of ultimate palmette derivation, each having

¹ *Celtic Ornament* (1933), pp. 6-11.

² *Llyn Cerrig Bach* (1946), pp. 48-49.

a central gamma-shaped loop diverging on either side into elaborated spiral tendril themes which are linked one to another by arched members over the ear-holes. While the treatment of the two figures, forward and rear, differs in detail, the pairs of major spiral coils offer a satisfactory balance one to another, so that in addition to the formal symmetry on the long axis of the composition, there is a secondary coherence afforded by the four circular areas of pattern forming the corners of an approximate square. The arrangement of pattern centres upon, and presupposes, some ornamental or functional feature on the head-piece in the area now occupied by the horns.

This treatment, achieving quadrilateral balance in a curvilinear composition, offers a convenient starting-place in our examination of the Torrs pattern, since it is basic to the design. The circular shield-boss from the River Thames at Wandsworth, already mentioned, shows this treatment to perfection, giving stability and poise to a design basically moving, as de Navarro has pointed out, to a circular rhythm.¹ Closely analogous to this arrangement of pattern within an annular space, though less rhythmic in underlying movement, is the decoration of the trumpet-mouth from Lough-na-shade near Armagh in Ulster,² in which the repetitive symmetry of the pattern is more obtrusive, with a markedly quadrilateral positioning of the main spiral elements (pl. LXXXV, *a*). Another Irish piece, the disc from Annalore, co. Monaghan, though far less accomplished in design, shows the same essential arrangement.³ In the well-known Battersea shield this arrangement, while still perceptible in the terminal roundels, has become minimized and subordinated to the cruciform disposition of the enamel bosses. We may say then that the Torrs pattern has, in its basic layout, affinities in the British Isles not only with the Wandsworth boss, an acknowledged masterpiece of our early school of Celtic metal-work, which de Navarro has classed as style IV and is derived from Jacobsthal's style III on the Continent,⁴ but also with at least one Irish piece, with a find-spot only eighty miles as the crow flies from Torrs. It is important to note that, side-by-side with asymmetrical compositions in our style IV (e.g. the Witham scabbard-mount), there are a series of symmetrical arrangements of patterns owing nothing to reimposed ideas of classical 'fold-over' designs, but original to Celtic art in Britain as on the Continent.⁵

We must now consider the two main loop-and-spiral compositions to the fore and rear of the Torrs head-piece (pl. LXXXI, *a*, *b*). Essentially both are versions of the lyre-patterns originating in continental Celtic renderings of classical palmette themes which, in their application to the British Mirror Style, have been analysed by Fox,⁶ but at Torrs they take on a distinctive form marked by the isolation in bold relief of the simple 'gamma' form of the central lyre element, and the foliation of the flanking members into spirals with double-coiled or knobbed terminals. For the plastic emphasis on the central gamma-shaped loop or inverted lyre form, a most interesting

¹ Leeds, *op. cit.*, Fig. 2a; de Navarro in *Heritage of Early Britain* (1952), 75 and fig. v. Fox has noticed the 'unstable equilibrium' of 'force held in leash' achieved in the triquetral patterns on the Llyn Cerrig shield-boss and on the Lambay Island scabbard-mount: we have here the equivalent in a symmetrical design (*Arch. Camb.* 1945, pp. 203-4; *Advancement of Science*, xxx (1951), p. 6 of reprint).

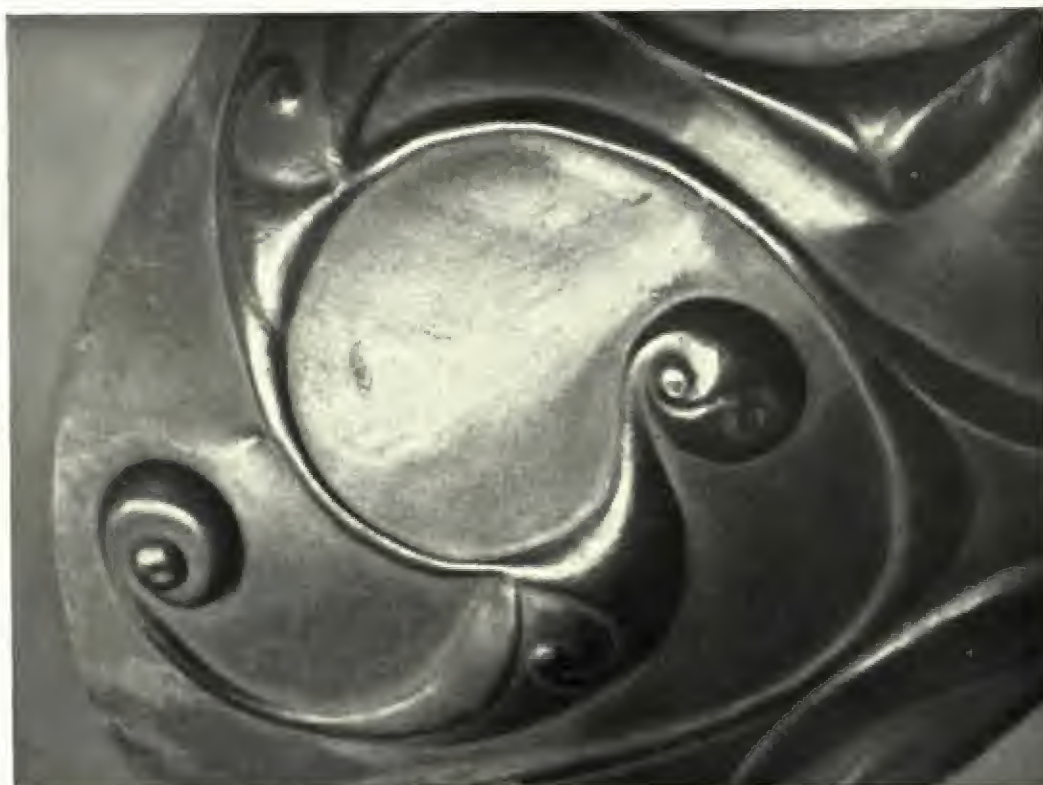
² F. Henry, *Irish Art* (1940), fig. 7a; J. Raftery, *Prehist. Ireland* (1951), fig. 267.

³ Raftery, *op. cit.*, fig. 266.

⁴ de Navarro, *loc. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

⁵ Cf. Fox in *Advancement of Science*, xxx (1951), pp. 6-7 of reprint.

⁶ *Antiq. Journ.* xxviii (1948), pp. 123-37.



a. Repoussé ornament on rear part of headpiece



b. Ornament on front part of headpiece
(Crown Copyright reserved)



a. Engraved ornament on Horn A



b. Engraved ornament on Horn B

parallel in an early, style IV, piece in Britain is afforded by the upper mount on the scabbard from Standlake in Oxfordshire¹ (fig. 3, no. 8) where the motif is executed in high relief against a back-ground of linear pattern: with its open-work chape and other features comparable with Early La Tène swords on the Continent, it is closely

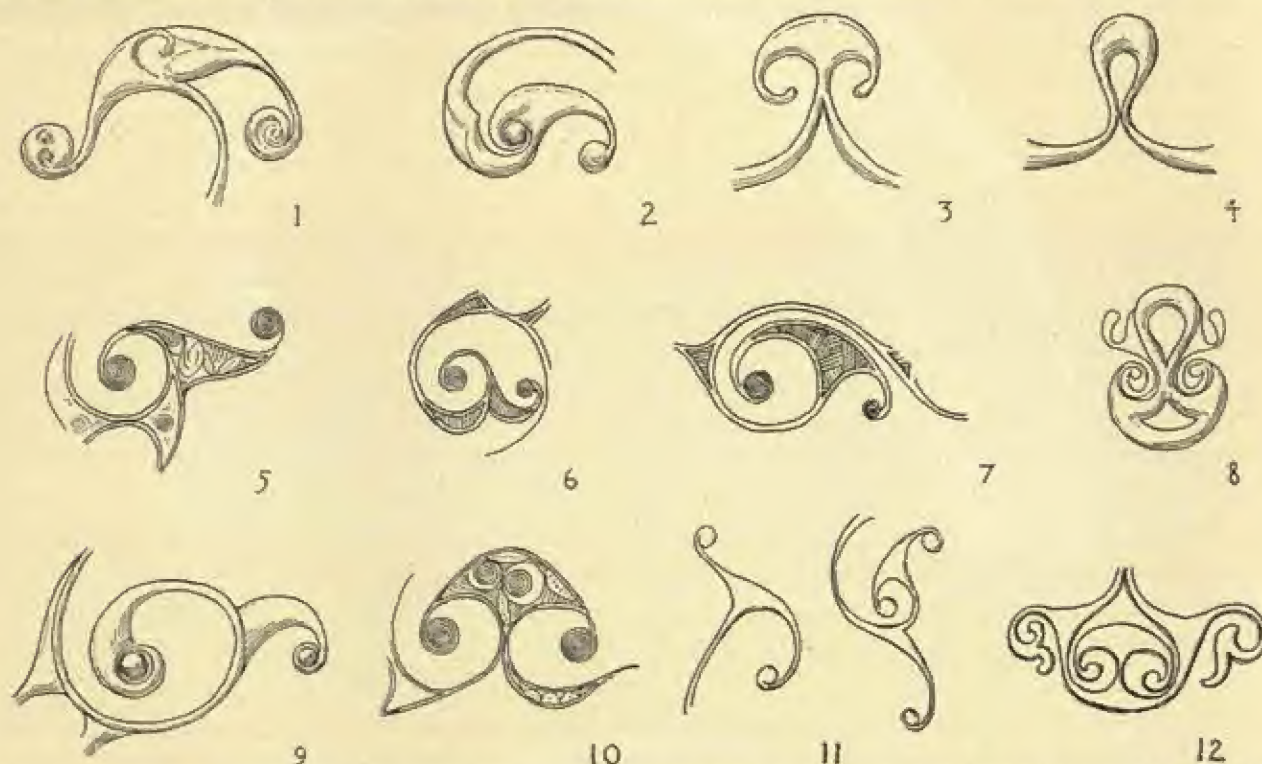


FIG. 3. Decorative motifs from the Torrs head-piece and comparative examples: 1-4, Torrs; 5, 10, Coleraine, Co. Derry; 6, North Ireland; 7, Lisnacrogghera, Co. Antrim; 8, Standlake, Oxon.; 9, Lough-na-Shade, Co. Armagh; 11, Newnham Croft, Cambs.; 12, Brentford, Middlesex

related to a group of imported dagger-scabbards in southern England not likely to be later than the middle of the third century B.C. The predominance of the loop motif in the metalwork of the Stanwick hoard,² of mid-first century A.D., suggests that it is only chance that has deprived us of earlier examples of this characteristic form in northern England, where its popularity seems to have been so well established by this date. It makes its appearance again in a series of mirror-handles of Fox's Type III,³ the affinities of the 'Mayer' and St. Keverne handles to the Stanwick loop-type being especially clear.

The forward loop-and-spirals composition on the head-piece has, below the central gamma-shaped motif, a diamond-shaped area defined by moulded ribs which at the rear join into a clumsily executed mushroom-shaped dome with its outer edges weakly recurved into blunt spirals. It nevertheless remains identifiable as a palmette derivative, related to those still recognizably continental in inspiration on the Brentford horn-cap (fig. 3, no. 12), the Clevedon torc-terminal, or the Cerrig-y-drudion

¹ Piggott, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xvi (1950), p. 4; pl. II.

Fortifications (1954), p. 2: but surely hoard rather than chariot burials?

² Leeds, *op. cit.*, fig. 31; Piggott, *loc. cit.*; Fox, *Advancement of Science*, xxx (1951); Wheeler, *The Stanwick*

³ *Arch. Camb.* 1948, pp. 24-44.

bowl,¹ and represented in more specifically insular form, with strong affinities to the Torrs example, engraved on sword-scabbards from Coleraine, co. Derry,² and Lisnacrogghera (fig. 3, nos. 10 and 7).

On each side of the central loop, with palmette-derivative below, is a spiral composition consisting of a tendril incurving to end in a domed motif with terminals themselves of recoiled spiral form, one turning down and one upwards (pl. LXXXI, *a*) which belongs to Fox's group of 'Designs with two coils or knots', occurring, as he pointed out, on the Newnham Croft armlet (which provides a close counterpart to Torrs: fig. 3, no. 11), the Brentford horn-cap mentioned above, and other pieces.³ Additional examples of this pattern in incised technique may now be added from the sword-scabbard from Coleraine, already quoted, and one from an unknown North Irish site,⁴ both providing good parallels to the Torrs motif (fig. 3, nos. 5 and 6). The comparable spirals forming the flanking elements of the lower composition (pl. LXXI *b*, *b*) end in asymmetrical domed motifs perhaps related both to the type discussed above and to the symmetrical palmette-derivatives,⁵ in which both ends bend downwards and inwards to terminate in spirals or bosses. In linear technique this is found on a Lisnacrogghera scabbard⁶ and, in plastic form closely akin to the technique of Torrs, on the Lough-na-shade trumpet-mouth already referred to (fig. 3, no. 9). On the Torrs piece the motif has been so treated as to create a reminiscence of a bird-head, in a manner well known in Celtic art here and on the Continent.⁷

All the features of the original Torrs pattern agree, therefore, in bringing the head-piece within the earliest group of Celtic metalwork in the British Isles, the phase of strongest continental influence. Further resemblances relate it to the Ulster group of Early Iron Age metalwork represented by the sword-scabbards from Coleraine and Lisnacrogghera, and the Lough-na-shade trumpet. The implications of these relationships can best be discussed when the other decorative features of the head-piece and horns have been examined.

B. THE DECORATIVE REPAIR-STRIPS

As we have seen, the head-piece has been repaired in antiquity at three points; above each of the ear-holes and near the rear edge of the piece, conveniently referred to as Repairs A, B, and C (fig. 1). In one instance the repair has involved the internal attachment of thin bronze plates by rivets to hold together the two sides of a crack in the original work, and in all three the repair has been disguised by making a decorative feature of a shaped and ornamented external repair-strip of thicker bronze. In addition, Repair C has been enhanced by a tendril of engraved ornament springing from the upper part of the repair-strip but executed on the original surface of the head-piece.

Each decorative strip has a different outline, in part only dictated by the shape of

¹ De Navarro, *loc. cit.* 74, who regards the Brentford piece as an import of Jacobsthal's style II from the Rhineland; Leeds, *op. cit.*, figs. 1 and 7.

² Raftery, *op. cit.*, fig. 216.

³ *Llyn Cerrig Bach* (1946), 48; Newnham Croft in *V.C.H. Cambs.* i. 194, fig. 26; here reproduced as fig. 4.

⁴ An unpublished example. We are indebted to Mr. Martyn Jope for a drawing.

⁵ This ambivalence was perceived by Fox (*op. cit.* 49 n.).

⁶ Leeds, *op. cit.*, fig. 5 left.

⁷ See below, p. 223.

the fracture it covers. Repair A has a comma-shaped strip decorated with an asymmetrical tendril-motif chased with a strong 'tremolo' line, and the strip is partly bordered by a tremolo line following its outline and incised on the original metal surface. Repair-strip B, its counterpart on the right-hand side of the head-piece, is tongue-like, constricted to form a heart-shaped termination, and is similarly chased, though without an outline on the underlying bronze. Repair C, with at first sight a curious and meaningless crozier-shaped outline, is in fact a subtle, and surely deliberate, combination of the A and B shapes, with the comma-shaped motif of Repair A joined to the base of the tongue outline of Repair B. The whole strip has tremolo chasing similar to the others, with the loop of the 'comma' worked into a beaded pattern. From a point near the base of this element of the outline an arc of incised tremolo line technique with trumpet-shaped expansions, cut on the original surface of the head-piece, springs and arches beyond the top of the repair-strip.

The absolute uniformity in style and workmanship of the three repairs, taken in conjunction with the echo of the outlines of two of the strips blended in a third, points conclusively to the work of a single craftsman at one time, and of a craftsman of technical excellence and inventive artistic genius. Stylistically the work belongs to precisely the tradition embodied in the engraved ornament on the Torrs horns, which might well be by the hand of the bronze-worker who repaired the head-piece, but technically, as we have seen, the attachment of the horns as it now survives could never have been his work.

There is one published parallel only to the use of decorative repair-strips on British Early Iron Age metalwork, and that is on the trumpet-fragment from Llyn Cerrig Bach.¹ Here an oval bronze plate with incised ornament, two inches long, had been riveted to cover a sprung joint in the trumpet-tube, and beyond it further incised ornament was executed on the tube itself. The parallel with our Repair C is exact, and it is proportionately significant that at Llyn Cerrig the repaired object was a trumpet of the specifically Irish type represented by the Lough-na-shade specimen, the mouth-disc of which is decorated with plastic ornament in the Torrs style. The Llyn Cerrig strip is of much inferior decorative quality to those on the Torrs piece, but common workshop practice is clearly indicated.

C. THE ENGRAVED ORNAMENT ON THE HORNS

In their original state both horns carried engraved ornament and ended in birds' heads cast in the round; one horn alone now retains its terminal (horn B). It is convenient to consider the engraved designs first, given in developed drawings in fig. 4.²

Horn A

This is the more elaborately decorated horn of the pair, and the engraved design, executed in a fine tremolo line, starting on the original metal towards the base, is continued on to and over the subsequent ancient repair or replacement of part of the

¹ Fox, *op. cit.* 44-45 and pl. xxxi.

² J. A. Smith's drawings of these designs (as again given by Anderson (*Scot. Pag. Times: Iron Age* (1883),

fig. 93) and elsewhere reproduced (e.g. Leeds, *Celtic Ornament* (1933), fig. 4)) are inaccurate and misleading.

half tube at the distal end of the horn. The execution of the design over this replaced portion is in a slightly finer line less surely handled than the remainder of the work, but stylistically no break can be detected, and the whole design forms a unified and continuous pattern.

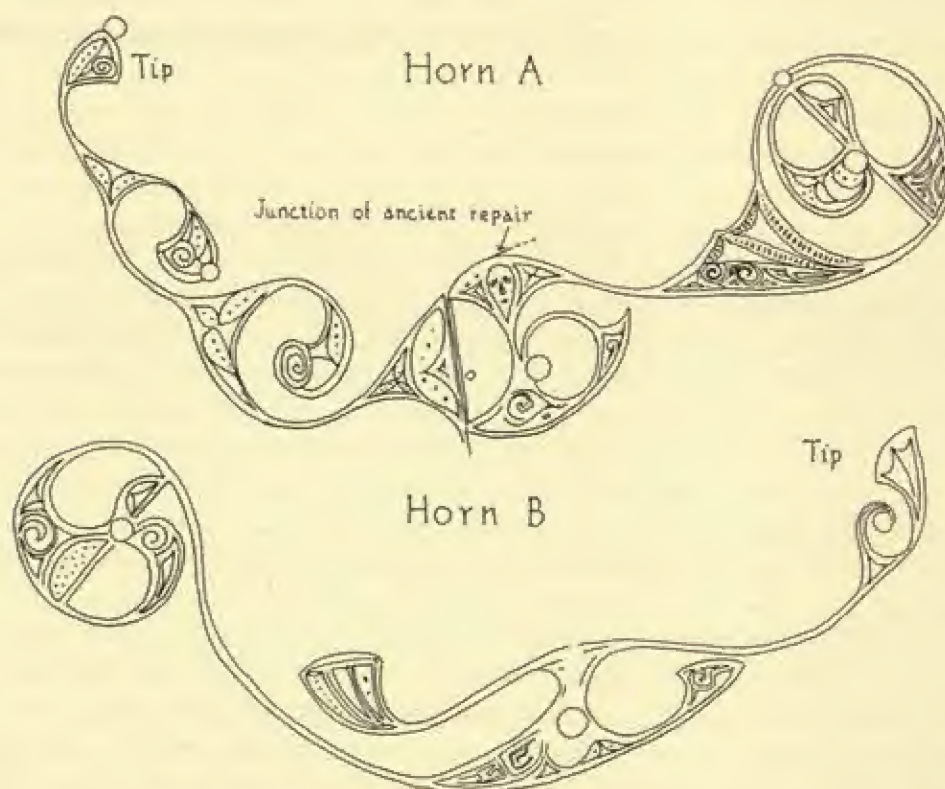


FIG. 4. Developed scheme of engraved ornament on horns (1)

The design is an asymmetric tendril pattern, which begins in a circular motif based on an elaborated yin-yang pattern. From this the ornament swings away in a bold S-curve to a smaller, answering, roughly circular area of pattern, itself embodying two unequal circular voids, from which again springs an asymmetrical tendril motif of two comma-shaped scrolls diminishing in size, and terminated by small fan-shaped motifs.

Within the double line which bounds and links the pattern areas, two main motifs are employed; a closely wound spiral and small oval or vesica-shaped element with a row of dots down the centre, which may be used by itself or combined into double or triple leaf ornament. A simple fan motif is contrived in the spandrel between the originating circle and the arm of the S-curve, and in the second circle a pear-shaped human mask is introduced as the central element in a triangular area with curved sides.

Horn B

The design on this horn is simpler than that on A, but completely akin in spirit and execution. Again it originates in a circular motif of modified yin-yang type, but

from this a long thin tendril arches out to bifurcate into asymmetric arms, one ending in a fan motif and the other in a fan and comma-shaped scroll.¹ Internal motifs include tightly wound spirals, a dotted oval area, and an angular spiral pattern approximating to a meander or key-pattern.

The general affinities of those designs are clear: they belong to de Navarro's style IV in Britain and are products of the school, or even the craftsman, producing the repair-strips on the head-piece described above. A close relationship exists between our designs and those engraved on the Witham scabbard-mount and the Wandsworth shield-boss: fan and spiral motifs can be precisely matched.² Similarly affinities exist with the engraved crescent of pattern on the Witham shield,³ and with the attenuated tendrils on the Sutton scabbard.⁴ But the characteristic dotted vesica or leaf motif does not occur on these pieces, and we must turn to Northern Ireland for a comparable use of this element. Here, on two scabbards already mentioned in connexion with their affinities to elements in the repoussé pattern on the Torrs head-piece, the dotted leaf-motifs also occur. Jacobsthal only cites one example of this motif, and that a late appearance at Glastonbury,⁵ but the dotted ornament on the bows of certain La Tène I brooches in England is in fact a more apposite comparison.⁶

The tight, 'hair-spring' spirals in the engraved ornament on the horns are an important and significant feature. On comparable British pieces such spirals appear in a tentative form on the Witham scabbard and the circular Wandsworth shield-boss; on the 'long' shield-boss from the same place they appear tightly wound, as on the Witham shield and on a straight-bowed brooch of La Tène, Ic-IIa type from Sawdon, N.R. Yorks.⁷ In Northern Ireland they appear in characteristic form on the scabbards from Lisnacloghera, Coleraine, and an unlocated Ulster provenance. All these are linear representations, but they appear in low relief on the Newnham Croft brooch and the famous Broighter torc shows them translated into full plastic 'snail-shell' form: on the Cairnmuir and Snettisham torcs such 'snail-shells' have lost their spiral construction and become tiny cones of concentric moulded rings, but their derivation is obvious enough.⁸ In origin the linear hair-spring spirals appear in the asymmetrical 'Hungarian Sword-Style' of Jacobsthal's classification (de Navarro's style III, sword-substyle) which provides the prototype for the linear elements in the British series of style IV.⁹

¹ Basically the asymmetric triquetra as on the Bugthorpe and Amerden scabbards; Fox in *Arch. Camb.* 1945, 206, 208-9.

² Best illustrations in Jacobsthal, 'The Witham Sword', *Burlington Mag.* LXXV (July 1939).

³ British Museum, *Early Iron Age Guide* (1925), fig. 115; *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xvi (1950), 15, fig. 8A.

⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxxi (1933), p. 94.

⁵ *Early Celtic Art*, Grammar of Ornament no. 67 (a). For another Glastonbury survival of an early motif cf. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xviii (1952), p. 164, fig. 3, G. iii, which appears in almost identical form among the engraved patterns on the circular Wandsworth boss.

⁶ Cf. Fox, *Arch. Camb.* lxxxii (1927), p. 67, figs. 3-5, 9.

⁷ Watson in *Antiq. Journ.* xxvii (1947), p. 178.

⁸ The spirals on the Stichill collar, related to but not

strictly derived from the foregoing, are discussed below (p. 233). The relation of the Broighter 'snails' to the earlier 'hair-spring' spirals was noted by Arthur Evans (*Arch. Iv* (1897), p. 388).

⁹ De Navarro, *Heritage Early Brit.* (1952), p. 75. For relevant spirals in the Hungarian sword-style cf. Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, nos. 106-8 (La Tène), 113 (Cernon-sur-Coole), 115 (Kis-Köszeg); no. 116 (Bölcske) though without spirals is very close in feeling to the ornament on the Torrs horns. The torc from the Marne (no. 216), and a brooch from Germany (no. 323) again show a very comparable use of incised spirals: they recall especially the Sawdon brooch. Another Marne torc (from Courtisols, inadequately illustrated by de Baye and Déchelette (iv, fig. 515, no. 6)) may be related.

Some stress has been laid on the occurrence of an angular meander or key-pattern as filling to part of the pattern on horn B, as a result of the clear indication of such motifs in J. A. Smith's original drawings of 1867.¹ As we have seen, these drawings are inaccurate in much of their detail, and as can be seen in the new drawing (fig. 4) the pattern, much injured by the breaking of the metal at this point as a result of riveting in one of the structural cross-bars of the horn, can only be claimed to include angular spirals approximating to the 'poor and narrow' repertory of Celtic meander-patterns commented on by Jacobsthal.²

A result of the study of the ornament while making the new drawings was, however, the unexpected discovery of an unmistakable human face introduced as a motif in a spandrel of the ornament on horn A (fig. 4). Tiny though the representation is (1.1 cm. from crown to chin!) it contrives to portray a characteristically Early Celtic type of melancholy, pear-shaped, visage: the features are represented by four lines indicating respectively the two drooping eyes, the nose, and the mouth.

A face-motif thus used as a part of linear incised ornament appears to be unique in Early Celtic art either in Britain or on the Continent. Parallels in plastic representation are however frequent and consistent in their portrayal of a distinctive facial type. The well-known stone sculpture from Pfalzfeld shows the pear-shaped face but with round pop-eyes;³ the same face with drooping eyes is, however, represented in metal-work.⁴ Comparable representations in Britain occur, as one might expect, on works certainly or probably imports⁵ and mostly of a date too late to be connected with the Torrs school of artists:⁶ indeed, the Torrs engraving may well represent the earliest portrayal of a human face known in indigenous Celtic art in Britain.⁷

There remains for comment the fragment of rather roughly incised ornament at the base of horn B, partly cut away and in the present form of the Torrs head-piece completely masked by the basal collar-attachment (pl. LXXV, *b*). The simple arcaded motif is common and undistinctive, but in view of what is said below in connexion with drinking-horn mounts, attention may be drawn to its affinities with the (elaborated) scale-pattern at the base of one of the Klein Aspergle horn-mounts.⁸

D. THE BIRD-HEAD TERMINAL OF HORN B

There can be no doubt that originally both horns terminated in solid bronze castings representing birds' heads; one alone survives, that on horn B (pl. LXXIV, *b* and *c*). The technical aspects of this terminal and its attachment, and the circumstances of the removal of the modern blobs of solder which formed the 'eye-balls', are described

¹ e.g. by Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, p. 14.

² *Early Celtic Art*, 75.

³ *Early Celtic Art*, no. 11. Cf. no. 144 for the use of a similar face-motif, but enmeshed in pattern, as at Torrs, and Jacobsthal in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* xlvii (1943), p. 312 on melancholy Celtic faces. Cf. also Saxl and Wittkower, *Brit. Art and Mediterranean* (1948), pl. 3.

⁴ *Early Celtic Art*, nos. 160, 201, 208, 295, 308, 309; the last three on brooches which may well have formed the most likely means of transporting the motif to Britain.

⁵ The anthropoid daggers from North Grimston, E. R. Yorks (Mortimer, *Forty Years* (1905), p. 356) and from

an unlocated Yorkshire find-spot (Piggott and Daniel, *Picture Book Anc. Brit. Art* (1951), no. 37) are cases in point; even more like the Torrs face is the head on another anthropoid dagger from Chatenay, Marne (Gilardoni, *La Naissance de l'Art* (Lausanne 1948), pl. 70).

⁶ As on the Aylesford bucket (Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (1938), pl. II, no. 3) or from Welwyn (Piggott and Daniel, *op. cit.*, no. 70).

⁷ For the significance of the isolated human head in Celtic art and religion cf. Lambrechts, *L'Exaltation de la Tête dans la pensée et dans l'Art des Celtes* (1954).

⁸ Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, no. 16.

on pp. 202, 208. We have now an accomplished and attractive piece of modelling, 4.5 cm. overall, surely representing the head of a Shoveller Duck (*Spatula clypeata*),¹ with eye-sockets presumably originally containing coral studs held in place by a rivet passing transversely through the head.

A complete parallel for the Torrs bird-head is provided by that forming part of the handle of the bronze cup from Keshcarrigan, co. Leitrim,² of which photographs are here published for the first time (pl. LXXXIII).³ There is no doubt of the stylistic identity of the two heads; both represent ducks and both have empty settings for studs in the eyes. A most interesting piece in this connexion is a small bronze mount from Hengisbury Head, a coarser representation seemingly of a similar head with bulbous eyes and bill-end, but recognizably akin in style and spirit to Torrs and Keshcarrigan. This was found in Site 3, apparently wholly of Iron Age A with characteristic pottery including a carinated bowl with furrowing.⁴ The chronological significance of this find, one of the few pieces of Iron Age art from an archaeological context in Britain, is commented on below. No other comparable pieces are known from the British Isles,⁵ but turning to the Continent we find the type and to a large extent the style represented particularly in the well-known series of 'bird's-head brooches' of Jacobsthal's style III. Here again, we may have Shoveller Ducks represented, as well as less sharply characterized species, and in several instances the eye-balls are represented by dome-shaped coral studs.⁶

SUMMARY

The foregoing examination of the ornament, both plastic and linear on the head-piece and the horns from Torrs, has shown that we are dealing with the strictly contemporary products of a single workshop. Stylistically no differentiation can be made between the component elements of the horned object as it has been known since the early nineteenth century. Horns and head-piece alike are works of the very highest quality, among the finest of our Early School, de Navarro's style IV in the European sequence; they are not only linked stylistically to the other British pieces, but at certain points (e.g. the bird's head terminal and the human face-motif) make closer contact with style III work on the Continent than many of our more characteristically insular pieces.

The technical investigation set out in Part I of this paper has shown that it is in fact in the highest degree unlikely that head-piece and horns can have been designed as a unit or combined as such in antiquity, and we have seen that we must treat the Torrs

¹ We owe this suggestion to Sir Cyril Fox; the species was tentatively identified at Glastonbury (*Glast. Lake Vill.* ii, 635).

² National Museum, Dublin; Wilde, *Cat. Mus. R.I. Acad.* ii (1861), p. 534, fig. 413. The cup is 5½ in. diameter at the mouth.

³ The photographs are by Mr. A. E. P. Collins and are reproduced with his kind permission and the consent of the Government of Northern Ireland's Archaeological Survey.

⁴ Bushe-Fox, *Excav. at Hengisbury Head* (1915), p. 61 and pl. XXIX. 6; pottery from Site 3, pl. x, nos. 10, 12, 13,

15, 16; pl. xvi, nos. 4, 17, 18.

⁵ The Red Hill, Long Eaton, bird-brooch is only a partial parallel, though of course ultimately related: it has sockets for coral inlays, but not in the eyes (Hawkes and Jacobsthal in *Ant. Journ.* xxv (1945), p. 117). The St. Catharine's Hill bird-mount (perhaps from a brooch) represents the older, Hallstatt, tradition of plastic bird ornament. (Hawkes *et al.*, *St. Catharine's Hill* (1930), p. 127.)

⁶ *Early Celtic Art*, pls. 153-7; ducks on nos. 289, 291, probably 298, 306, 307; coral eye-studs on nos. 289, 291-3, 300. Cf. Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv, fig. 533, no. 7.

find as of two elements; a head-piece or cap for a horse, and a pair of horns. The design of the head-piece presupposes the original existence of some form of central feature in the nature of a light panache or crest, the seating of which was destroyed by the later botched attachment of the pair of horns. Since these cannot be regarded as an original feature of the extant head-piece, we must seek an origin for them in some other decorative function; mimetic horns on a helmet or other head-piece, or mountings to actual drinking-horns are the possibilities. We have therefore to inquire into parallels for our head-piece, on the one hand, without horns but with a crest of some kind, and on the other for functions appropriate to the pair of dispossessed horns. Finally, we must assess the date, location, and stylistic content of the school of craftsmen responsible for the Torrs and similar works of art.

The Original Nature of the Head-Piece

We have seen that both technical and aesthetic considerations indicate that the Torrs head-piece must have carried some central feature between the horse's ears, and the comparative thinness of the bronze-work suggests that any such feature should have been light. The obvious suggestion is that this should have been some form of plume or panache of feathers or horsehair. On helmets worn by human warriors sockets for precisely such plumes exist on more than one La Tène example¹ and plume-bearing helmets probably of Etruscan derivation go back to a still earlier date in northern Europe.² The face-mask visor-helmets of the Roman cavalry, the idea of which, like the elaborate sports and exercises in which they were worn, is likely to have been adopted from the Celts and Iberians, were, according to Arrian, decorated with 'yellow manes designed less for use than display'; Professor Toynbee suggests that these may have been dyed horse-hair streamers.³

When we turn to plumed head-pieces on horses, however, we must rely almost entirely on iconography for, as we have seen, no actual head-pieces strictly comparable to Torrs survive. Comparable objects would be the coloured and gilt leather trappings of the horses in the Pazyryk burials in the Altai Mountains, of the fifth century B.C., and of Scythian affiliation.⁴ The best known of these horse-masks bear fantastic versions of reindeer's horns, implying a relatively recent transition from reindeer to horses as domesticated animals among the Pazyryk communities; another has a horned and winged griffin rearing up between the horse's ears. Clearly these cannot be used as a close comparison with the Torrs head-piece, and the reindeer-horned mask can hardly be cited with any conviction in support of the latter having been *ab initio* a horned head-piece.⁵

There is, however, an excellent representation of a true metal chamfrein of Celtic (or strictly speaking Galatian) origin, adorned with a great crest of feathers, and dating

¹ *Early Celtic Art*, 116-17; nos. 143, 147, 148. Cf. Coutil in *Bull. Soc. Préhist. Franc.* 1913, pp. 1-8.

² As at Vikso, Denmark (also with horns: cf. p. 226 below); Norling-Christensen in *Acta Arch.* xvii (1946), pp. 99.

³ J. M. C. Toynbee in *Journ. Rom. Stud.* xxxviii (1948), p. 24. Cf. Polybius iii. 62, on 'Gallic panoplies, such as

are worn by their kings when they fight in single combat'.

⁴ Details and illustrations most easily accessible in Minns, 'Art of the Northern Nomads' (*Proc. Brit. Acad.* xxviii (1942), pp. 16-18 and pl. vi).

⁵ As suggested by Dr. Jacobsthal in conversation with the writers.



a. Bronze cup from Keshcarrigan, Co. Leitrim, Eire



b. Detail of handle



a. Detail of relief sculpture from Corbridge, showing horse with plumed head-gear



b. Relief sculpture from Pergamon showing trophies including chamfrein

from the second century B.C. This splendid object is depicted as part of a group of Galatian trophies among the reliefs on the balustrade of the temple of Athene Nikephoros at Pergamon, of the time of Eumenes II (197-159 B.C.) (pl. LXXXIV, *b*).¹ The sculptures, there is no doubt, would form an accurate representation of the carefully composed groups of barbarian arms which were erected like stage sets on wagons to be paraded at a triumph,² and may be accepted without reserve. The metal chamfrein, shown as modelled with realistic musculature, would have covered the whole of the front of the horse's head; its upper end expands into a semicircular mounting holding a fan-shaped array of feathers, and behind it can be seen a long switch of hair recalling Arrian's 'yellow manes'.

For the rest, we can only point to the occasional representation on Roman relief-sculpture in Europe of horses wearing some sort of a tuft or plume between their ears: Pannonia yields an example,³ and there are two from Corbridge (pl. LXXXIV, *a*).⁴ The well-known bronze horse from the Gaulish sanctuary at Neuvy-en-Sullias (Loiret) has the mane dressed into a tuft or top-knot in somewhat the same manner.⁵

In sum, then, we can produce little but inferential evidence to suggest the nature of the original feature crowning the Torrs head-piece. The Pergamene feathers are at least a pointer to one possibility, by no means inappropriate to the general character of the piece.

The Original Function of the Horns

Since, as we have seen, the Torrs horns cannot be regarded as an original and integral part of the head-piece, the problem of their function before they were combined with it must be discussed. There seem to be three possibilities: that they had been a part of a horned horse-cap, though not that to which they are now attached; that they had similarly belonged to a warrior's horned helmet; and finally, that they had formed elaborate terminal mounts of a pair of drinking horns.

The first possibility cannot be proved one way or the other. As it exists today, the Torrs head-piece with its horns is a *ἄπαξ πεποιημένον*, and to postulate the existence of other such horn-trappings in Early Iron Age Britain from it would be logically unsound; the Pazyryk reindeer masks, as we have seen, can hardly be used to support the argument. But for horned helmets worn by Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age warriors in Europe there is abundant evidence. The earliest appear to be those from Viksø in Denmark already referred to, and their congeners represented by a detached horn and a figurine from the same country. To much the same date should belong the well-known Sardinian statuettes, though precise attributions cannot be made.⁶

¹ *Altertümer von Pergamon*, ii, pl. 43; cf. Reinecke in *Tschumi-Festschrift*, 1948, 93. We are indebted to Professor Jocelyn Toynbee for drawing our attention to this important piece of iconography. Cf. her comments (on the visor-mask in the same relief) in *Journ. Rom. Stud.* *loc. cit.*

² Jacobsthal has discussed this aspect of the Pergamon relief in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* xlvii (1943), p. 310.

³ Alföldi and Radnoti in *Serta Hoffilleriana* (Zagreb 1940), pp. 309-19 and pl. xxxi.

⁴ *Arch. Ael.* 3rd ser. v (1909), pp. 322, 344; fig. 11. We are indebted to Mr. John Gillam for the photograph here

reproduced.

⁵ Illustrated e.g. by Lantier, *Les Origines de l'Art français* (1947), fig. 112.

⁶ The pair of large iron horns in the Sesto Calende cart-grave (more than 18 in. overall) are perhaps, as Déchelette suggested, cart-trappings comparable with Jacobsthal's interpretation of the 'chariot-horns' of Waldalgesheim and La Bouvandeau (Montelius, *Civ. Prim. It.* i (1895), p. 317, pl. 62; Déchelette, *Manuel*, iii, fig. 275; Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age in Italy* (1927), 69, Pl. 14. 4; Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, 121; cf. Fox, *Llyn Cerrig Bach*, pp. 15-19).

The evidence for horned helmets in the western European Early Iron Age has been examined by Déchelette¹ and Coutil², the most notable examples coming from Italian contexts, though representations on Gallo-Roman monuments show similar types current in Gaul at the time of the conquest.³ A British horned helmet survives as one of our best known antiquities, dredged from the River Thames at Waterloo Bridge.⁴ Here the horns are stout and conical, their broad bases opening into the helmet of which they form an integral part, and their tips are finished with knobs recalling those on Romano-British scabbard-chapes.⁵ The knobbing of horns is, of course, a common trick of Early Iron Age metalworkers, seen especially in the ox-head terminals of fire-dogs.⁶ A group of three elongated bronze cones which appear to have been the mountings of a horned helmet in which a central horn was flanked by a pair comes from Blackrock, co. Cork;⁷ the horns are stylistically and typologically akin to the similar conical elements of the 'Petrie Crown' from an unlocated Irish finding-place and both may date from the early centuries A.D.⁸

There is a case, then, for regarding the Torrs horns as originally mounted on a parade helmet for a warrior, with their means of attachment removed or obliterated in the reassembly of the horse's head-piece as we know it today. The third possibility, that they were drinking-horn mounts, must however be considered.

Bronze terminal mountings for drinking-horns, ending in stylized bird's heads or ox-heads, are first attested in the central European Late Bronze Age.⁹ Jacobsthal has discussed metal-mounted drinking-horns in the European Early Iron Age in some detail: as he points out, they normally occur in pairs. The gold horn-mounts from Klein Aspergle, with their rams' head terminals, clearly relate to classical *rhyta* and their Scythian versions. Very similar rams' heads appear on brooches generally belonging to the 'bird-brooch' series mentioned above, and a certain ambivalence seems to have existed in the craftsman's mind between birds' and rams' heads as terminals, so that they are stylized in such a way that their characteristics are merged and shared.¹⁰

A remarkable series of Early Iron Age zoomorphic terminals to drinking-horns is

¹ *Manuel*, iv, pp. 661 ff.

² *Bull. Soc. Préhist. Franç.* 1913, p. 1.

³ Déchelette, *loc. cit.*, figs. 484, 485.

⁴ *Brit. Mus., Later Prehist. Antiq. Brit. Isles* (1953), pl. xviii. 1; Piggott and Daniel, *Picture Book* . . ., no. 53.

⁵ e.g. Bushe-Fox, *Excav. Richborough*, iv (1949), p. 131, pl. xxxvii. 131; Hawkes and Hull, *Camulodunum* (1947), p. 340, pl. ciii. 6. Cf. also the so-called Group VI chapes of the native scabbard series (Piggott in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xvi (1950), p. 22) which in view of their asymmetry may not be scabbard-chapes at all; the Ham Hill dagger chape (with a native anthropoid dagger (*Ant. Journ.* iii (1923), p. 149)), is, however, certainly knobbed and comparable with Roman examples.

⁶ The convention begins in the Late Bronze Age: the Vikso and allied horns are also knobbed, as are many on the Sardinian warrior-statuettes, and knobbed horns appear on a well-known series of ox-handled bronze vessels from Central Europe (von Merhart, *Festschrift Röm. Germ. Zentralmus. Mainz* (1952), ii, pl. 14). Cf. Hawkes

in *Aspects of Arch.* (1951), p. 192.

⁷ *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.* xxviii (C) (1910), p. 104. A study of these horns by Professor M. J. O'Kelly and one of the present writers (S.P.) is in preparation.

⁸ Raftery, *Prehist. Ireland* (1951), fig. 233. The horns belong to Raftery's third and latest stylistic phase of Irish Early Iron Age art (*op. cit.*, p. 190).

⁹ Kossack, *Stud. z. Symbolgut der Urnenfelder- u. Hallstattzeit Mitteleuropas* (R. G. K. Forsch. Bd. xx, 1954), p. 56; pl. 14 and 26 (map).

¹⁰ Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, pp. 111-14; note particularly the reference to silver-mounted drinking-horns of the *Urns* by Caesar (B.G. vi. 28), and add the representation of a pair of Gaulish drinking-horns on the triumphal arch at Carpentras, Vaucluse (Espérandieu, *Recueil*, i, p. 180, pl. 243; Lantier, *Les Origines de l'Art français* (1947), pl. 88 (better illustration)). Klein Aspergle horns: Jacobsthal, nos. 16, 17; ram's heads on brooches: nos. 308, 312, 314.

known from Scandinavia, where they take the form of the heads of cattle, sometimes identifiable in pairs as of a bull and a cow. These date from the early centuries A.D. but their ancestry in the early Celtic world is obvious; Stenberger thinks that the Nordic drinking-horns with animal-head mounts must relate through Celtic traditions to the Scythian world.¹ It is in such zoomorphic terminals of the Scandinavian Celtic Iron Age that the origins of the Dark-Ages drinking-horn mounts with bird's-head terminals of the seventh to tenth centuries A.D. must lie.²

With the possibility that the Torrs horns had formed the terminal mounts of a pair of drinking-horns in mind, it was necessary to decide whether any likely type of ox-horn would be appropriate, in size and curvature, to such an elaborate curved finial. It was clear that any horn likely to have fitted the horn-core of *Bos longifrons* would be too small and stubby, and *Bos primigenius* seemed the only possibility. Thanks to the co-operation of the Zoological Department of the Royal Scottish Museum, a *Bos primigenius* 'horn' was reconstituted in papier-mâché on the horn-core of a skull of this species, and a plaster cast of the intact Torrs horn fixed to its apex (pl. LXXXV, c).³ It was found that the curve of the horn was carried on sweetly in the bronze, and it could be seen that the conjunction of the two was by no means incongruous, but produced a satisfactorily resplendent and striking object. Its capacity would have been nearly three quarts. Caesar notes that the silver-mounted *Urus* horns of the Gauls were used in *amplissimis epulis*, and the Sutton Hoo mounts would necessitate a horn having a capacity of twice this amount, certainly that of a large *Bos primigenius*.⁴

Our third possibility therefore seems not unlikely, that the original function of the Torrs horns was as decorative bird-headed mounts of a pair of princely drinking-horns, made from the horns of *Bos primigenius*. Curve and proportion would suit the likely shape of such a horn, and a bird-head terminal would be appropriate in view of the prehistoric and early historic analogues quoted; the Celtic feeling for a similarity between rams' and birds' heads as terminal motifs may, through the *rhyton* prototype, be thought to support the case. No proof can be brought for this or for the other two possibilities discussed, but to the present writers the last would seem the more likely suggestion as to the purpose for which the Torrs horns were originally designed and made.

The Place of the Torrs Style in British Early Celtic Art

In the foregoing sections we have analysed the components of head-piece and horns which together constitute the Torrs find as we know it today, discussing them from the viewpoints of function and of stylistic affinities. In this inquiry we have seen that whatever may be said of the original relationship of horns to head-piece, we are dealing with products of a single school, or even of an individual craftsman, of the highest

¹ Stenberger, *Fornvannen*, xli (1946), p. 147; Voss and Ørsnes-Christensen, *Acta Arch.* (1948), p. 209; cf. Hawkes, *Aspects of Arch.*, pp. 190 ff.

² The earlier examples would be those from Valsgärde, Taplow, and Sutton Hoo; the later series has been commented on by O'Riordain, *Proc. Roy. Irish. Acad.* lii (1949), Sect. C, p. 66.

³ Our thanks are due to the authorities of the Museum,

and especially to Mr. D. W. Wotherspoon who made the reconstruction with such skill.

⁴ We are indebted to Mr. R. L. S. Bruce Mitford for this information; the surviving Taplow horn is smaller. Jacobsthal notes a pair of horns of 'Bison priscus', containing residue of beer and mead respectively, from Skudstrup, Hadersleben (*Early Celtic Art*, p. 113).

capabilities. It remains to consider the chronological and stylistic place of the Torrs style in the sequence of Early Celtic art in the British Isles.

Since Leeds pointed out the general characteristics of an 'early school' in our Iron Age metalwork, the affinities of the Torrs find with four masterpieces from eastern England—the two Wandsworth shield-bosses, the Witham shield and scabbard-mount—have been generally recognized. To these major pieces may be added several minor works, some relatively late in the series but clearly in the tradition of the early style, and others which are certainly derivative and show the style modified and mixed with other allied but distinctive traditions. De Navarro following Jacobsthal grouped Wandsworth-Witham-Torrs as style IV, the British development from style III (Plastic and Sword sub-styles) on the Continent. He noted the combination of plastic and linear treatments on the same piece—'the ornamenting of ornament'—as a characteristic.¹

To understand the Torrs style, however, it is necessary to carry the analysis of our 'Early School' metalwork somewhat farther, though it is not the place here to embark on a detailed examination of the pieces involved. One must group, on stylistic grounds, the Torrs pieces not only with the four major works just referred to, but with other less spectacular pieces—the armlet and brooch from the Newnham Croft burial (fig. 5), brooches from Beckley (Oxon.) and Sawdon (N.R. Yorks.), a bit-ring from near Yeovil (Som.), and the horn-cap from Brentford (Middlesex).² The last may be used as a convenient point of departure. Its ornament is so characteristically in Jacobsthal's style II, the Waldalgesheim style, that de Navarro regards it not as a British piece at all, but as an import from the Rhineland.³ Whether or not this is the case, there is no doubt that style II imports must have been reaching southern England, to account for the strong Waldalgesheim influence in the ornament on the Newnham Croft armlet, the Yeovil ring, and the undoubtedly locally manufactured involuted brooch from Beckley: the motifs employed, as we have seen (p. 218) are basic to the repoussé designs on the Torrs head-piece. The spirals on the horns, on the other hand, connect directly with those on the Newnham and Sawdon brooches.

Now Jacobsthal has, in passing, commented on the Newnham brooch and its dating, while comparing it with that from Red Hills, Long Eaton, and an involuted brooch from Danes' Graves (E.R. Yorks.). He has shown that elements of both the Waldalgesheim and Plastic styles are present, and that such pieces should therefore be dated not far from the transition between these styles on the Continent; in other words, they should belong to the last third of the third century B.C. and be among our earliest pieces of Celtic art.⁴ The dependence of the Torrs repoussé design upon Newnham-Brentford-Waldalgesheim motifs is clear and considerably more marked than in the Witham or Wandsworth pieces; stylistically in fact the head-piece has closer affinities to style II, the horns to the 'sword sub-style' of III. In sum, in origin, the Torrs pieces go with Newnham Croft and the involuted brooches of Beckley and Danes' Graves type no less than with the Witham-Wandsworth group, and all must

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 75.

² See list with references in Appendix.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 74.

⁴ *Ant. Journ.* xxiv (1944), p. 123; Cf. Hawkes in *loc. cit.* xxvi (1946), p. 187.

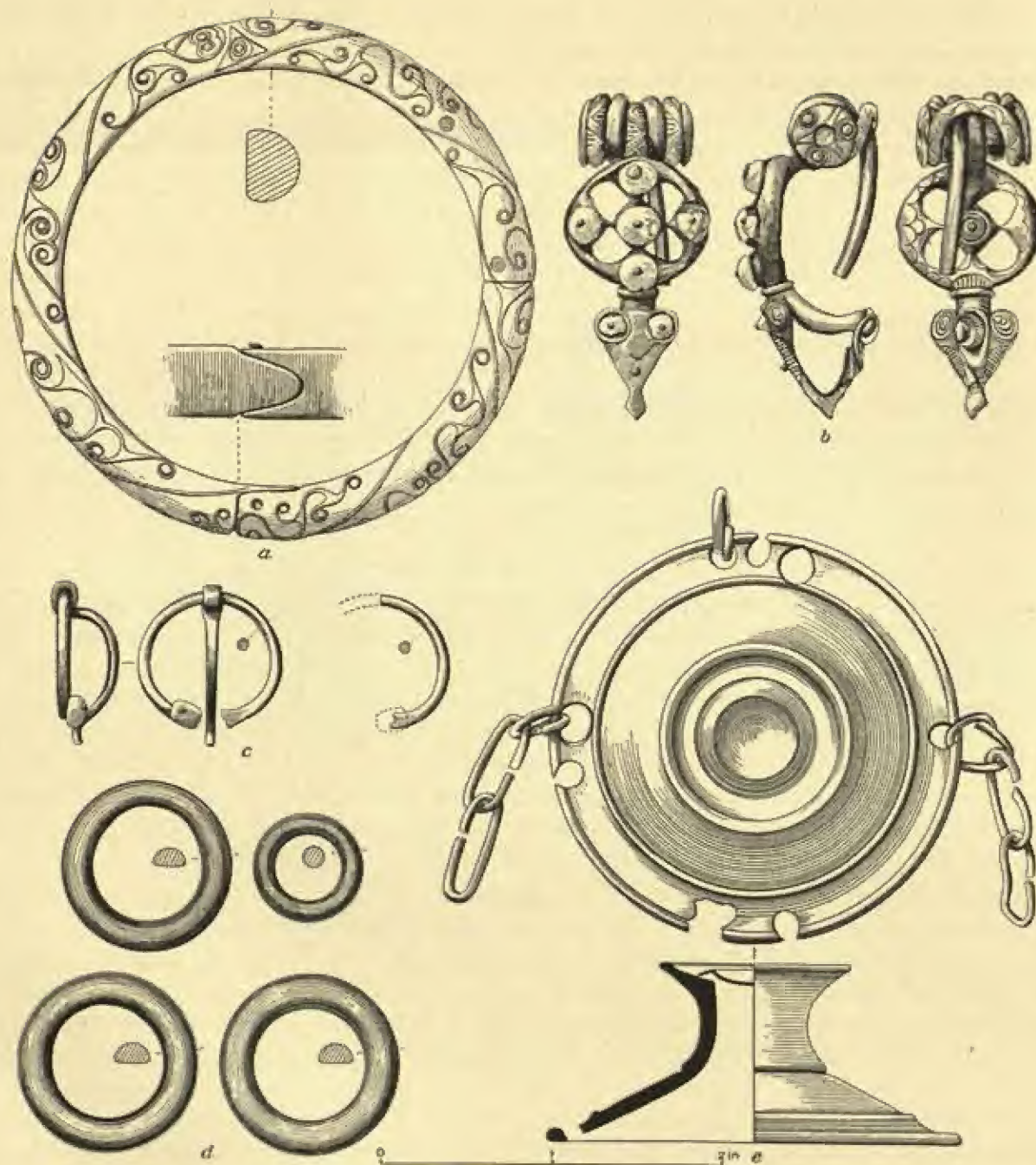


FIG. 5. Grave-group from Newnham Croft, Cambs. (After *V.G.H. Cambs.*)

be dated to the century 250–150 B.C., with Torrs early in this period, when style II elements were still vigorously represented.

We have now taken a step by perceiving that our 'Early School' metalwork may have



FIG. 6. Distribution-map of the Torrs-Wandsworth style. (For list see p. 234. No. 19 is an unlocated piece, not mapped.)

two phases—an early or Newnham-Torrs style, with 'Waldalgesheim' motifs still apparent, and a later Witham-Wandsworth style in which the 'Plastic' and 'Sword' elements are dominant. But before we turn to the later developments of the Torrs style we cannot avoid discussion of certain other pieces of British Celtic art which have every claim to an early date but which are stylistically differentiated from the group just described—these are the Cerrig-y-Drudion bowl,¹ and the Wisbech² and Standlake scabbards.³ The first and last share a decorative technique not found on

¹ *Ant. Journ.* vi. 277; Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, p. 5; *loc. cit.*
 Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, p. 95 (P 471); Fox in *Proc.*

Prehist. Soc. xviii (1952), p. 50.

² Piggott in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xvi (1950), p. 5; Fox,

³ *Summary Guide, Dept. of Antiqs. Ashmolean Mus.* (1951), pl. XLVI; Piggott, *loc. cit.*, pl. II.

the early school pieces just discussed, that of 'basketry' and 'matted' shading as a background; Cerrig-y-Drudion and Wisbech are stylistically closely linked in their use of palmette-ornament, as Fox has shown. With so few pieces analysis is difficult but the western (perhaps Breton) elements in Cerrig-y-Drudion have been noted more than once: Jacobsthal regards it as an import from west France of c. 300 B.C. The Wisbech scabbard-fragment has an edge pattern of hatched triangles linking it to the well-known Thames series of open or ring-chape scabbards of La Tène I type; Standlake has a similar chape and ornament akin to style II. A date around the middle of the third century B.C. is therefore likely for both the Standlake and Wisbech pieces.¹ We shall see that the presence of 'basketry' pattern on the Cerrig-y-Drudion and Standlake pieces is significant when considering linear versions of the Torrs style.

With the Torrs style established as originating in Britain in the middle or second half of the third century B.C. we may now turn to other examples of the same tradition. The Hengistbury bird's head, which from its associations can hardly be later than the middle of that century, may be one of those imports which gave rise to the specifically British version of Celtic art we are now studying. The Keshcarrigan cup, with its brilliantly modelled duck's head handle, should on stylistic grounds be contemporary with the Torrs pieces, and one might perhaps compare the 'crimped' pattern on the rim with similar techniques on the circular Wandsworth boss and the terminal roundels on the Witham shield. The cup appears to have close affinities with pottery versions of metal bowls of identical profile from Brittany, which have a similar 'crimped' pattern on the inner ledge of their rims; one of these, from Henon,² has ornament in the style of the Saulces-Champenoises bronze bowl assigned by Jacobsthal to the fourth century B.C.³ But the Keshcarrigan cup appears to be lathe-spun, which on technological grounds would suggest a comparatively late date at variance with the stylistic evidence.⁴ The developed form of the Glencotho chape would suggest a second-century date at the earliest; its weak tendril-ornament which links it to Torrs is seen in comparable form on the Sutton scabbard. Similarly the Lough-na-Shade trumpet mouth, while in many respects the closest parallel to the handling of the repoussé pattern on the head-piece, has a jejune and arid version of the squared-circle pattern which, with its over-emphasized contrast of wiry tendrils and irritatingly insistent little bosses shows the Torrs style in uncomfortable decline, and hints at the approaching 'boss style'.

But this piece is of importance in showing that the plastic Torrs style had established itself in Northern Ireland as well as in Britain, and enables us to understand elements already referred to in the linear ornament of the well-known Lisnacrogghera

¹ This revises the later dates in Piggott, *loc. cit.* following discussions with Professor C. F. C. Hawkes. The Minster Ditch (Oxford) scabbard, and the greater part of the Thames dagger-sheath series, should go with the first La Tène I brooches in Britain, somewhat antedating the art-styles here discussed.

² Wheeler, *Maiden Castle* (1943), pl. xxviii, especially no. 6.

³ *Early Celtic Art*, p. 95. He assigns the St.-Pol-de-

Leon 'starnos' to the same date; these Breton pots must at all events be earlier than c. 56 B.C.

⁴ We are indebted to Mr. Martyn Jope for drawing our attention to this feature while the paper was in proof. He would compare the Keshcarrigan cup with that from the Colchester burial also containing an engraved mirror (*Antiq. Journ.* xxviii (1948), p. 136), and one might add the bowls from the Birdlip mirror-grave (*Arch.* lxi (1909), p. 332). Both would be early first century A.D.

series of decorated scabbards. As one of us has shown,¹ such scabbards (Group iii A) should be related to the Group iii scabbards of Bugthorpe type which embody elements of the Witham-Wandsworth style combined with 'basketry' hatching to emphasize the pattern and lyre-patterns allied to Cerrig-y-Drudion and Wisbech, but which can hardly be dated before the first century B.C. The style II reminiscences perceptible in one of the Coleraine scabbards and in the unlocated Northern Irish specimen² can now be seen to represent the plastic tradition as on the Torrs head-piece and the Lough-na-Shade trumpet-mouth taken over and translated into the basket-hatched linear style of the Bugthorpe scabbard, in its specifically Ulster form.

This late survival in Ireland of a style ultimately derived from that of Waldalgesheim enables us to place the ornament carved on the well-known stones at Turoe (co. Galway) and Castle Strange (co. Roscommon) in its appropriate context. Although here the structure of the design has become forgotten, and coherence largely lost, the general indebtedness of the patterns to the Newnham-Torrs-Coleraine tradition is apparent,³ and this relationship is strengthened by the step-pattern round the base of the Turoe stone, of which a version appears on a spear-shaft mount at Lisnacrogghera,⁴ and again on the Grimthorpe shield-mounting, from a grave with a Group iii scabbard.⁵ Comparison has been made between the Turoe and Castle Strange stones and continental carvings such as those of St. Goar and Kermaria;⁶ Raftery has been 'inclined to think of a Breton sculptor working in Ireland', but solely as a result of a confusion in his references.⁷ Whatever the source of the inspiration for the stone-carving technique, a date not before the first century B.C. would be appropriate for the two stones on stylistic grounds.

There remains one further line to pursue, the final development of the Torrs plastic style, with its use of the 'snail-shell' spiral. We have seen how this feature appears in the gold torc from Broighter and it is present in a modified form on another from Clonmacnoise;⁸ in the Cairnmuir and Snettisham torcs of the late first century B.C., which must in some sense be related, the spirals have become multiple rings. Both these torcs have another feature linking them to the traditions of the north-east English school, the use of a peculiar coarse 'basketry' filling made of alternating groups of broad punch-marks as a background to the plastic ornament, a technique seen elsewhere only in the chape of the Bugthorpe scabbard.

That the Torrs tradition in plastic styles persisted late in north Britain is shown by a remarkable piece, the bronze collar from Stichill in Roxburghshire (pl. xvi, b).⁹

¹ Piggott in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xvi (1950), p. 14.

² Raftery, *Prehistoric Ireland*, fig. 216, and footnote, p. 218, above.

³ The motif of asymmetric dome with spirals (above, p. 218; fig. 3, no. 7) is particularly clear on the Castle Strange stone.

⁴ Cf. Mahr in *Proc. R. Irish Acad.* xlii (C), (1934), pp. 23-24.

⁵ Mortimer, *Forty Years . . .* (1905), Frontispiece.

⁶ e.g. by Françoise Henry (*Irish Art*, 6), following Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv, 1029.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 45. He compares the ornament with Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv, fig. 661, which represents painted

pottery of La Tène I from the Marne and Ardennes, of which the Saulces-Champenoises pattern (Jacobsthal's *P. 426* in his *Grammar of Ornament*) is indeed comparable with Turoe and of style II. But confusing Déchelette's fig. 661 with his fig. 663 (the well-known pots from Plouhinec and St.-Pol-de-Leon) Raftery then goes on to speak in the text of 'the painted designs on the Breton pottery' and so to assign the Turoe craftsman to a Breton origin as well.

⁸ Armstrong, *Cat. Gold Orn. R.I. Acad.* (1933), p. 65, pl. xiii. 98; Raftery, *Prehist. Ireland*, fig. 234.

⁹ Anderson, *Scot. in Pagan Times: Iron Age* (1883), p. 136.



a. Mouth of bronze trumpet from Lough-na-shade, Co. Armagh



b. Bronze torc from Stichill, Roxburghshire



c. Reconstruction of drinking-horn incorporating Horn B as terminal

This collar has a most sophisticated and ingenious construction in two planes at right angles to one another, and is formed of two pieces hinged at the back and fastened by a pin passing through interlocking tubes at the front. Such hinge construction presumably reflects Roman techniques of fastening, as in the bracelets from the Llandovery (Dolaucothy) and Rhyader hoards,¹ the latter having ornament in the native tradition. The bracelet fragment from Thirst House, Derbyshire, of the second or third century A.D. has a similar fastening and its openwork design is the Celtic 'pseudo-calligrapher's florid conception of the letter N' which as Leeds goes on to point out, links it to the Plunton Castle (Kirkcubrightshire) armlet (also hinged) and to the Stichill collar under discussion.² A date in the second century A.D. would then be appropriate for this piece.

The ornament is in two techniques. On the back and the upper parts of the frontal crescent it consists of wiry tendril and spiral patterns cast in low relief, but the central crescent area has two plaques of thin repoussé metal, each held by four domed rivets and bounded on their sides by reeded mouldings. The repoussé ornament, repeated on each plaque, while structurally Leeds's 'swash' N, is in fact a linked pair of mushroom-shaped ornaments, one symmetrical and one asymmetrical, of Torrs derivation. The spiral pattern may be influenced by the similar motifs on Samian bowls of Forms 29 and 30,³ but in origin should go back likewise to the traditions of the Torrs school.

We have seen, then, that the Torrs style started as early as the third century B.C., at a time when the Waldalgesheim tradition was still able to contribute to the origins of British Early Celtic art, that related pieces of craftsmanship are known from east England, southern Scotland, and Ireland, and that recognizable versions of its motifs were in circulation in southern Scotland about the second century A.D. Can we do more to define the likely time and place of the manufacture of the Torrs head-piece and horns?

Chronology presents no very serious problem; on stylistic grounds the Torrs *atelier* must have been established as early as any of those responsible for our insular style IV works, within a generation or two of the middle of the third century B.C. But where? Our knowledge of the Scottish Early Iron Age is still exceedingly imperfect and patchy; the likelihood of the builders of the Tweed basin hill-forts not arriving much before the first century B.C.⁴—one of our few partially documented cultures—does not preclude earlier settlement, perhaps from East Yorkshire, in Galloway. Stylistically, in fact, the Torrs pieces do seem to come between the manner of the east English Wandsworth-Witham style and that of Lisnacrogghera in Ulster. One could not on any reasonable showing derive the Torrs style from the known Ulster pieces which, if the combined evidence of the bridle-bits and of the sword-scabbards be accepted, can hardly be earlier than the first century B.C.⁵ when some evidence as we

¹ Brit. Mus. *Antiq. Roman Britain* (1951), p. 13, fig. 6; 28, pl. III. Probably second century A.D.

² *Celtic Ornament*, p. 110. The Thirst House armlet was associated with coins of A.D. 154-270; Samian of c. 100-250, and second century brooches (*Vict. County Hist. Derbyshire* i. 234). A version of this 'N' in 'Mirror-style' art is on the Balmaclellan crescentic plate as its central motif.

³ Claudian-Neronian, and their motifs of course also derived from metalwork; these pottery versions are likely to have been the intermediaries between the native craftsmen and the silver ware of, e.g., Hildesheim type. (Cf. Fox in *Advancement of Science*, xxx, Sept. 1951.)

⁴ Cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* lxxxiv (1949-50), pp. 129-35.

⁵ As argued in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xvi (1950), p. 16.

have seen exists for a Hiberno-Scottish school which in plastic traditions produced such pieces as the Broighter and Cairnmuir torcs alongside the linear style of Lisnacroghera and Coleraire. The Torrs head-piece and horns, then, should have been manufactured early in the second half of the third century B.C., not improbably in south-western Scotland itself, the only likely alternative being Yorkshire.

APPENDIX

THE TORRS-WANDSWORTH STYLE AND ITS CLOSE DERIVATIVES

(Numbers as on Map, fig. 6)

A. Earlier Pieces

1. *Beckley, Oxon.* *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 260, fig. 17c. (All other drawings inaccurate.)
Brooch.
2. *Brentford, R. Thames at.* *Arch.* lxix (1920), 21. De Navarro, *Heritage Early Brit.* (1952),
Chariot 'horn-cap'. p. 74, fig. iv. Fox, *Llyn Cerrig Bach* (1946), pp. 16-17.
3. *Danes Graves, E.R. Yorks.* *Arch.* lx (1906), p. 267, fig. 13.
Brooch.
4. *Hengistbury Head, Hants.* Bushe-Fox, *Excav. Hengist. Head* (1915), pl. xxix. 6.
Bird-head mount.
5. *Keshcarrigan, co. Leitrim,* Wilde, *Cat. Mus. R.I. Acad.* ii (1861), 534, fig. 413.
Eire. Present paper, pl. LXXXIII.
Handled bowl.¹
6. *Newnham Croft, Cam-* Fox, *Arch. Camb. Reg.* (1923), p. 81; pls. xv. 5; xviii. 2x.
bridge. *V.C.H. Cambs.* i. 294, fig. 26 (whence present paper, fig. 5).
Armlet and brooch in
grave-group.
7. *Red Hills, Long Eaton.* *Ant. Journ.* xxiv (1944), p. 123.
Brooch.
8. *Torrs, Kirkcudbrightshire.* Present paper.
Head-piece and horns.
9. *Wandsworth, R. Thames at.* Kemble, *Horae Ferales* (1863), pl. xvi. 1. Leeds, *Celtic Orna-*
Shield-boss I (Circular). *ment* (1933), fig. 2 (a). *Burlington Mag.* lxxv (July 1939). De
Navarro, *Heritage Early Brit.* (1952), p. 76, fig. v. British Mus.,
Later Prehist. Ant. Brit. Isles (1953), pl. xx. 1.
10. *Wandsworth, R. Thames at.* Kemble, *op. cit.* pl. xvi. 2. Leeds, *op. cit.* fig. 2 (b) (wrongly
Shield-boss II (Long). attributed to R. Witham). Brit. Mus. *Later Prehist. Ant.*,
pl. xx. 2. *Ibid.*, *Iron Age Guide* (1925), fig. 114 (detail).
11. *West Coker, Som. (Prob-* *Proc. Somerset Arch. & N.H. Soc.* xcvi (1951), 108; pl. v.
ably). Bit ring.
12. *Witham, R.* Kemble, *op. cit.*, pl. xiv. 1. Brit. Mus., *Later Prehist. Ant.*, pl.
Shield. xix. 1. *Ibid.*, *Iron Age Guide*, fig. 115. Saxl and Wittkower,
Brit. Art and Mediterranean (1948), pl. 4. 1 (detail).
13. *Witham, R.* Kemble, *op. cit.*, pl. xviii. 10. Leeds, *op. cit.*, fig. 3. Saxl and
Sword-scabbard. Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pl. 2. 5. *Ant. Journ.* xix (1939), p. 194.

¹ For discussion of the date of this bowl see p. 231. It is here retained in the earlier group on stylistic grounds.

B. *Closely Derivative or Allied Pieces*

14. *Castle Strange, co. Roscommon, Eire.*
Carved stone. F. Henry, *Irish Art.*, pl. 2c.
15. *Coleraine, co. Londonderry.* *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xvi (1950), p. 27. Raftery, *Prehist. Ireland*, figs. 216, 216a.
16. *Glencotho, Peeblesshire.* *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xxxiv (1899-1900), p. 254, fig. 1. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xvi (1950), p. 13, fig. 7. 2.
17. *Lisnacrogghera, co. Antrim.* *Journ. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, 1883-4, 391; 1889, 96; 1890-1, 542. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xvi (1950), pp. 14, 17.
18. *Lough-na-Shade, co. Armagh.* F. Henry, *Irish Art.* (1940), pl. 7a. J. Raftery, *Prehist. Ireland* (1951), fig. 267. Present paper, pl. LXXXV, a.
19. *North Ireland, unlocated.* Belfast Mus. ex Robb Coll. Information from Mr. E. M. Jope. (Not on map, fig. 6.)
20. *Sawdon, N.R. Yorks.* *Antiq. Journ.* xxvii (1947), p. 178; fig. 1; pl. xxvii, a.
21. *Sutton, R. Trent at.* *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxxi (1933), p. 94. *Arch. Journ.* xci (1934), p. 106, fig. 5.
22. *Turoe, co. Galway, Eire.* *Journ. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, lxxiv (1944), pp. 23, 43, fig. 5.
23. *Weston, Bath, Som.* F. Henry, *Irish Art.*, pl. 2b. J. Raftery, *Prehist. Ireland*, fig. 265.
- 'Spoons.' *Arch. Journ.* xxvi (1869), p. 60. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* lviii (1923-4), pp. 147, 149.

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